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16 April 1981

# East Europe Report

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1869

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## SOCIAL, HEALTH CONSEQUENCES OF ABORTION DISCUSSED

Tirana SHENDETI in Albanian Aug 80 pp 3-5

[Article by Dr. Apostol Lira: "Abortion--An Important Social and Health Problem"]

[Excerpts] In protecting the health of women, particular importance is given to the problem of births and abortions. In our country, in the conditions of the building of socialism and thanks to the socio-economic and cultural changes, to the support and assurance provided by law and to the measures taken for the complete emancipation of women, good conditions have been created for the birth, rearing and normal development of children. In our country, birth and child rearing do not constitute a private concern of spouses or families, but an important social and state concern.

Mothers who have borne and reared several children are a good example of our national pride and tradition. They are brought up by and have the support of the government; they are honored by society. There are many mothers who have borne and reared six, nine and 12 children and have been granted honorary titles and are honored with the medals: "Heroine Mother," "Distinguished Mother" and so forth.

Along with these people, it is observed that there also are couples, especially, young people, who deviate from our national birth tradition; they limit themselves to the birth of one or two children and, as a way to fulfill their desires, they resort to abortions.

In our country, abortion is a harmful act, because it has a negative influence on the demographic movement, population growth and its rejuvenation. Particularly, abortion seriously affects a woman's health; consequently, it prevents women from fulfilling their family and social responsibility.

On the other hand, birth vitalizes and rejuvenates all the functions of the organs of a woman's body. It is confirmed scientifically and proven in the practice of our life itself that birth is a physiological process; it invigorates the work of the neural system, the heart, the kidneys, the muscles and the internal secretion glands. It increases the resistance of the woman's body to diseases and prevents the development of tumors, specially, of cancerous ones. Women who give birth to several children are not affected by many diseases, or by cancer.

While, women who have had miscarriages or abortions, suffer medically all their lives. Abortion has never been an inconsequential occurrence for a woman's body. It is a sudden "demobilization" of the body at a time when a colossal change is taking place. Therefore, abortion is a great shock for a woman's body. It causes neural and mental irregularities, endocrinological disturbances, biological trauma, cases of anemia and local and general infections and even death. There are frequent cases when women, after an abortion, suffer from psychological disturbances, depressive psychoses and notions of guilt.

Women accuse themselves or accuse their husbands for the committed act; thus quarrels begin in married life. These quarrels cause serious psychological harm and are frequent, especially, among young women between the ages of 18 and 25. Psychological damage occurs not only because of functional changes, but also as a result of the organic damage done to the blood vessels of the skin and to the brain. Also, the function of the glands, such as the thyroid glands and the ovaries and so forth decreases.

The most frequent consequences are the uterine, tubal and ovarian infections. These consequences are suffered by 80 percent of women who have aborted. These impairments can cause sterility, premature births and many pathological cases of post natal or post partum [complications]. Not unfrequent are the cases when the subsequent pregnancy, after an abortion, does not develop in the uterus but outside it. The danger is one to three times greater in these cases among women who have aborted than among women who have never aborted.

Therefore, it is understandable, that, if a woman manages to prevent sterility after abortion she still suffers from serious gynecological and obstetrical complications and consequences, as a result of deep and serious biological changes.

On the other hand, she becomes a human being with poor health capacity and condition. Also, in regard to economic management, she becomes a source of increased temporary work disability, visiting dispensaries for treatment or going to hospitals time after time and staying there for medical treatment.

Therefore, abortions cause many medical, social, demographic, juridical and psychological problems; they are not private problems concerning women, the couple or the family. They must be seen as important matters concerning conjugal life and society.

Along with the health workers, the activists of the mass organizations must also help in this direction. Specific convincing work must be carried out not only with the masses of women, but also with the masses of men. The latter must feel the responsibility developing on them in this direction. We must aim to have an "ideal couple" everywhere, where conjugal unity prevails, built on the basis of mutual respect, good understanding and approval of every intimate act or general action by both parties.

The health institutions, that is, polyclinics, hospitals, health consulting centers and maternity homes in cities and villages, all serve this purpose. The health personnel working in these institutions can give the necessary advice and

make their contribution to the improvement of the health education of women and men.

The educational and convincing work, which the entire society must undertake, is the best means for preventing abortions, condemning these acts as foreign manifestations incompatible with our socialist norms. This is how we will form a healthy, strong and lasting family, in accordance with the requirements of our socialist society.

9150
CSO: 2100

## BRIEFS

OPPOSITION TO SECULAR SCHOOLS DENOUNCED--An article by Hamit Beqja, in Albanian entitled "From the Struggle for the Creation of the Albanian National Lay School," published in the September 1980 issue of NENTORI (Tirana), the monthly literary, artistic, social and political review of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania, pp 169-207, traces the effort to establish the secular school system in Albania from the time of the Albanian National Renaissance, through the 1930's. The "reactionary" attitudes of clergy of the Moslem, Albanian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic faiths are ridiculed, with emphasis placed on the opposition to lay schools by the Catholic clergy who were "in the service of fascism," and who fought "to maintain their monopoly over the spiritual guidance of the people." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100

## LETTER EXPOSES OPEN VIOLATION OF STATE LAWS, REGULATIONS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Feb 81 p 3

[Letter to the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO from Zdravko Iliev, village of Batuliya, Sofia Okrug: "Comrades, I Demand the Floor!"]

> [Text] It might be as well when the letters of citizens are published in the newspaper for the concerned institutions, enterprises, organizations--all who are affected by the suggestions, critical comments etc.--not to wait for the congress to summarize them and assign them as a problem to be solved, but to take corrective measures at once, and let the 12th Congress settle fundamental matters of the future.

The initiative taken by RABOTNICHESKO DELO [Workers' Cause] gives me a wonderful opportunity to demand the floor.

The article, "Frankly, More Like Communists," aroused in many people, party members and nonparty members alike, the desire to share their thoughts from this high rostrum, to make suggestions and thus feel themselves coparticipants in the task of drawing up the documents that the 12th Party Congress will discuss and adopt for the country's further development. I, too, want to state my views on some questions that bother me. But first of all, let me introduce myself. My name is Zdravko Iliev Stoichkov from the village of Batuliya, Sofia Okrug. I took part according to my abilities in the struggle against fascism and capitalism; I was a partisan in the Chavdar Brigade. We won the victory at the price of much misery and suffering, many casualties, and with the immeasurable assistance of the great Soviet Army. For the first few years after freedom, our concern was to consolidate what we had won. And that was by no means a simple or easy job.

From the Fifth to the 11th Congress as well as later on, our concern was to build the new life and prove in practice the progressive character and strength of our communist ideas. And we did. During this period under the leadership of our party the people made great gains. We all began to live better and in easier circumstances. My lot has been linked with the

exploration for, discovery and construction of more than 40 large nonferrous and rare-metal mines in the Rhodopes. Here in 25 years--under the guidance of Soviet specialists Pakhomov, Zholtikov, Motin, Grishin, Cheremin, Goligin and many others, as well as our specialists, Comrade Stefanov and Hero of Socialist Labor Comrade Yanakiev--Peycho Iliev, T. Korolev, Ivan Rashev, Ivan Gerchev, Draycho Tsolov and scores of other young people wrought miracles by their own hands and by the hands and selflessness of several score thousand explorers, miners, concentration specialists, drivers, office employees etc. We all started out from a tent and a wooden barrack to have today the modern cities of Madan, Rudozem, Smolyan and Zlatovgrad and a modern developed mining industry.

From the 11th Congress up till now I have been a pensioner. My health, severely impaired (vision, hearing, cardiac action), made me turn my steps towards my home village. Here, for the third time now, I have been elected secretary of the party organization that accepted me in its ranks in 1945.

This is my biography in brief. This is the position that I want to talk to you from.

I didn't know, nor do I now adequately, the fine points of a party secretary's job. But I have always had a feeling of sincere respect and esteem for a person holding this post. Indeed, the secretary of the primary party organization is a figure of the first magnitude in the collective, in the settlement, in the block. He fulfills the role of apostle for the entire party. In his person the people have long since become accustomed to seeing the party, its policy and concern, impeccable honesty, devotion, industriousness, responsiveness. The secretary is a figure of authority. But his authority is built up from day to day; it is not created by orders or decrees. Unfortunately in my home village, a village with revolutionary traditions, the figure of the party secretary lost its luster for year after year. Why? The lack of effective control by the former obshtina party committee in Rebrovo as well as by the Sofia Okrug public education directorate created conditions for the abuse of party and official trust on the part of G.I.P.--a school director and secretary of the primary party organization. Warnings were received, an audit was made, and data about a deficiency in the accounts were referred to the prosecuting magistrate and thence to the court. Instead of drawing a sensible conclusion, the people with responsibility did an irresponsible thing and everything "blew over." What is more, during discussion of the party bureau's suggestion to replace the party membership documents of G. I. P. the organization divided, with the preponderance making light of the offenses. The blunted revolutionary sting of some members was quite clearly manifested. For them the gross violation of party morality, with the ebb of confidence and trust, the depersonalization of the figure of the secretary and the debasement of the key role of the party organization, was nothing.

Falling in with the general current of "forgiveness" and "coddling" is an alarming phenomenon in our party life. It is an abnormal phenomenon and will lead to no good.

A father once used to borrow money or flour from his neighbors with a specified due date for returning it. If his resources did not suffice to pay off his debt on time, he turned to someone else for help, but paid off his debt by the due date. This fellow won confidence and had the face to ask again.

I am thinking about those who lead our party--from the local organization to the Central Committee, about the economic officials--from the local echelon to the ministry, about the qualities we all must possess if we are to have the confidence of the wide masses of party and nonparty members. Are we all suited for our jobs? Hardly! There are abundant examples in practice: a fellow replaces a hard chair with a padded one and, lo, his outlook and his consciousness change. Which means that our ideological tempering was weak or there wasn't any at all; we simply adopted the ideology in order to mend our position. There was a time when for the misappropriation of 103 leva the party organization excluded from its ranks and removed from his post the deputy chief engineer of the mine--my coworker in the most difficult sectors of ore output. Has this been true in recent years? For gross violations a "reprimand" and "dismissal" from duty; and very shortly we see the "dismissed" person in another, higher job. Such "punishment" isn't worth two cents. I care (and I'm sure the same is true of most party and nonparty members) whether or not what we fought for by force of arms before 9 September 1944 as well as during 36 peacetime years receives the widest popular support and recognition, whether it is built up or destroyed.

I fully approve the decision of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee regarding TsUM [Central Department Store] that was published in the newspaper. Only decisive actions like these can have a sobering effect.

Comrade Kamberova from the village of Archar, Vidin Okrug, in her letter to the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO "stole" my material that I had worked with for more than 30 nights in the Congress Hall. To some it may seem funny, but in fact I "conducted" a conversation for whole nights with most responsible comrades about the problems that Comrade Kamberova raised in her letter of 2 January 1981, as well as others on which I will state my views below. Therefore I salute Comrade Kamberova, a bold and frank fighter who is devoted to the great cause of the party. Our desire and aspiration is that everybody should live from his own labor without making a grab for what he did not create, that every "stone" should find its place in the "edifice" precisely and in conformity with the function that it will fulfill, that everybody should receive his compensation, that we should all be good stewards of public property and be thriftier when we spend the people's money.

Very many problems have become burning issues because of the areas zoned for summer houses all along the Iskur gorge.

There is a strong feeling on the part of the people against the summer-house zones and the summer-house craze, and in many respects it is well founded. But once we have permitted this state of affairs in the whole country, is it reasonable now for us to destroy what has been built? No, it is not. Matters must be set to rights, however, and I have a lot of specific suggestions, but I must not take up more of everybody's time with them and I shall request the editors of RABOTNICHESKO DELO to refer them to the appropriate agencies.

The "crooks" that Comrade Kamberova writes about are among us, too. Let us mention some of them, hopefully for the last time.

State trucking and taxi transportation is in many cases a source of illegal financial benefits for those who sit behind the wheel. What is more, sabotage takes place. The driver who has "accumulated" mileage and "saved" fuel from the trips he didn't make, in order not to get caught in the fiction of the trips, draws off fuel en route or makes illicit trips to the nearby village or to summer-house zones. In many cases these trips are made with a load--sand or gravel, likewise "saved" from some construction project, from which he earns an additional 100-150 leva per day. The fuel "savings" in many cases go into the tanks of personal cars or into the heating stove.

Three months ago 60 of us bought stoves for ourselves from the store on Luvov Most [Lion's Bridge] in Sofia. There was no delivery. Five of us asked a "Nisa" driver to pick up and deliver the stoves to our homes in Sofia. The job was done in about 40 minutes with the driver collecting 7 leva apiece from each of us and going his way. I reflected: his vehicle is in his hands, he uses it as he pleases and the state takes care of its maintenance.

For three years I made the rounds of the stores in Sofia and could never buy a cabinet for under the sink. A year ago I asked a gypsy worker who was unloading kitchen furniture where I could find a cabinet. . . The fellow answered at once, "Here you are." And asked where I lived in order to deliver it to my home. To my question how much I would have to pay for the favor, he replied, "Twenty-one leva for the cabinet, 5 leva for me and 2 leva for the warehouseman at the central warehouse; otherwise he won't give it to me. Delivery extra."

Judge for yourself what kind of profiteering tricks are thought up and what kind of a network they have organized to make a little extra money and loot the citizens.

One more question bothers me: all offices (state, economic etc.) are filled with permanent staff of all ranks. Not many, however, are on the job. Here is the way it is in most cases: work starting time is 0900 hours. Employees are still arriving up till 1000 hours. Around 1000 and 1500 hours there is a break, during which times the corridors are filled

with people smoking and drinking coffee and tea. Around 1145 hours the office begins to empty; most go somewhere "on business" etc., but you can't call it genuine, official or operational work--such as there is very few people are engaged in. I wonder whether our government has not opened up its purse and created conditions for a large number of people to loaf instead of going into physical production and creating goods.

I suggest that we reflect well about the tables of organization of offices, about their structure and practicality, as well as who must be given a technical secretary, driver and car and where not.

The task of the board of editors of our newspaper is difficult. I expect that thousands of citizens will participate in the precongress consultation with the people, everything will be dealt with and systematized, and what is most significant will be said. But there's no other way; the people must be given the floor, must say what they are thinking and what they propose. Useful talk is heard; this is an expression of respect and gratitude. Hence people become more light-hearted--they mobilize, work better and perform work of higher quality, and this rallies, unites and multiplies the forces of the entire society.

Comrades, in the revolutionary annals our party most readily linked its activity with the people. The vast majority of the people helped the party and followed it without reservation, believing in its just struggle for the good of all. During 36 peacetime years the people under the party's wise leadership have wrought miracles. Now all of us, elated over the great historic 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, await our 12th Congress, confident that it will project new and higher lines of development for us and will lay new steps in the stairway leading to communism.

The party springs from the people and belongs to the people; it is their leader. Therefore it also bears the entire responsibility for their allround and harmonious development as a nation with high cultural, revolutionary and human merits.

Thank you for granting me the opportunity to share what has been troubling me.

6474
CSO: 2200

## CPSL 'PRAVDA' DISCUSSES COMING ELECTIONS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Feb 81 p 1

[Editorial: "New National Front Election Programs"]

[Text] General elections to representative bodies are always a foremost political event in the life of our society. They do not include only the actual selection of national committees at all levels and of legislative organs, but the entire period of their preparation is connected with a thorough assessment of the election platform of the National Front (NF), in the name of which the present deputies prior to the elections--then still as NF candidates--were vying for the trust of the electorate. This then involves--contrary to the practices of capitalist countries--a thorough confrontation of words and deeds, at public meetings, face to face with the citizenry and wide opportunities for their expression in regards to the attained results. This thorough assessment yields not only positive findings, even though they are clearly prevalent, but also a number of findings regarding what had been neglected, what needs improvement, what appears to be a pressing need of a given community, city or district. Such considerations, expended by aspects involving our society as a whole, and by further narrowing down of the tasks that will be promulgated by the 16th CPCZ Congress, will become the starting point for working out proposals for new election platforms of the NF for the next 5-year term of office of representative organs which we shall elect in June of the current year.

It can be said that such analytical reexaminations of the past election period and platform considerations for the future will constitute in the coming months the key agenda at national committees. After all, there is a lot to assess. There is not a single community that did not gain a lot over the past 5 years--be it expanded opportunities for employment, housing construction, an expanded network of preschool, educational, commercial and social facilities, esthetic improvements in the living environment, in a majority of cases thanks also to the active industriousness of local citizens. But we must also see the weaker points of making good on election platform pledges. Thus, for example, inadequate progress has been made in more closely linking the ideological and educational role of national committees, their deputies and the cadre with the specific local situation, to more effectively promote participation of the citizenry in dealing with topical problems of economic, social and cultural development, to systematically secure their help in elimination of shortcomings. Considerable differences still remain between activities for the public good developed by inhabitants of large cities and settlements in comparison to the rest of the populace. Campaigning among the citizens is marked by running in spurts, lacking any systematic approach. Neither national committees nor the ministerial control organs succeeded in more positively improving the

lagging housing construction and its serious result, less than adequate quality of many completed apartments and lagging completion of public facilities. Local economy met the planned quotas of services and collection of receipts from the populace, but the extent availability and quality of many services lag behind the needs of the populace. In capital construction, it became possible to partially restrain the proliferation of units under construction, but in Slovakia its extent, which currently stands at over Kcs 4 billion, is still less than satisfactory. One of the key criteria for assessment of the election platforms of the NF should also become the level of accommodation of citizens' interests, suggestions and depositions at national committees from the viewpoint of upholding socialist laws and justice, but also unjustified delays, lack of sensitive approach to people and their needs.

Thus, in stating many clearly positive aspects of a good-faith approach to assessment of meeting election platform pledges, we also encounter a number of various "but..." statements representing shortcomings which detrimentally affect the positive items on our balance sheets. They will have to be dealt with earnestly, by seeking and finding corrective solutions, and incorporating them solidly, with a leeway for implementation, into the proposals for new election platforms of the NF. Their working out calls from this moment on for a very responsible approach, thorough deliberation, clarification of the possibilities and forms of implementation in meeting various tasks and their precise formulation. In this context, some aspects ought to be pointed out in particular. Election platforms of the NF should consolidate and unite in implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress the interests, means and resources of national committees, organizations of the NF, industrial and agricultural plants active in individual territorial units. Even during the course of the election period, which in a few months will be over, the principle of such close cooperation found its reflection in specific agreements reached between national committees and plants as well as social organizations. The national committee would express in them its contribution to dealing with problems of specific plants and their personnel, e.g., in providing transportation to the plant, help in dealing with the housing problem, manpower recruitment, improving the commercial and restaurant network in certain locations, etc. The plants, on the other hand, pledged financial help, equipment and expert help in dealing with certain construction projects in the framework of capital investment, amassed the requisite means for such construction projects, sponsored planting and maintenance of park areas in certain parts of settlements or in its own vicinity, but also formulated decisions to participate with their choruses and lecturers in cultural and educational activities. The contents of agreements between national committees and social organizations were analogous. Now comes the time to objectively assess to what extent the pledges expressed in the agreements have been met, not mutually solving unmet pledges, but to get a clear picture of who did what and who failed to do something else, to what extent he failed to use his realistically available resources, and why. Such a balance sheet will prove very useful in formulating proposals for new election platforms of the NF, which should stipulate more clearly the help to be offered by industrial plants, united agricultural cooperatives and other institutions in constructive efforts, to include help in operating facilities of benefit to the public in the territorial units where their personnel reside. In specific terms this boils down to looking for a wider scale of opportunities for concentrating the resources of plants, cooperatives, social organizations and national committees for making joint investments, preferably in communities that qualify as centers of regional and local importance, not indulge in "big dreams"

and not venture into overambitious investments. There is a great amount of unused resources for developing public initiative, help by industrial plants, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations in the current management of noninvestment construction and improvement. This should make a more effective contribution to upgrading the living environment, focusing on specific actions, directly enhancing the life of citizens in towns and villages: establishment of park areas, particularly within tenement blocks, and assuming responsibility for their upkeep, establishment and provision of facilities for children's playgrounds, an improved cleanliness and orderliness in our settlements and a relevant closer focus on collection of recycleable materials from the populace and from industrial plants.

Particular emphasis should be put on the now unequivocally defined obligation of national committees at higher levels to keep an eye on the nature, costs and necessity of incorporation of individual projects of an investment type into the proposals for election platforms, their share of responsibility for compatibility and social justification in implementation of individual projects.

Election platforms of the NF should primarily become the key instruments for creative implementation of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress on the community, district and regional level. They will be implemented in an atmosphere of bringing the set of measures for improving management to life. It follows that they must pay heed in all respects to the requirement of high efficiency, quality, economy and merit. Projecting this, e.g., into the sector of public services, it calls for confronting their current composition, quality, availability and punctuality with the requirements of the citizenry and taking appropriate measures toward improved meeting of those requirements, improved availability even in remote areas, expansion of services, particularly repair work done in customers' residences, and adjusting the time schedule for operations to accommodate the needs of the public. Expand at a reasonable rate services that yield high profits so that this yield could be used within the framework of enterprises run by local economy for improving the volume of less profitable but required services. In the area of housing management, it will be necessary to eliminate wasteful performance of repairs and seek methods for more economic but more efficient heating and hot-water supply. In addition to new housing construction projects, the housing policy concept for the Seventh Five-Year Plan envisions a more extensive modernization of older available housing than has heretofore been the case. It can be expected that many questions will be raised regarding this problem at preelection meetings and proposed election platforms should reflect what can be expected to be done in this matter on the given territorial scale.

It can be said that it will still be many weeks before the NF candidates will step forth to present the election platforms of the NF to the voters. Working out feasible proposals for election platforms that would optimally, in mutual harmony, spell out our resources and meet the needs of inhabitants of communities, cities and districts, that would point out the approaches to and forms of attaining these goals, arouse the initiative of the citizenry for their further enhancement and realistic implementation, with specifying their own creative participation in them--that is not something that can be done from week to week. Thus, it is up to national committees, industrial plants, united agricultural cooperatives and social organizations to gain a clear understanding of the contents of the platforms to make the best possible use of the remaining time.

8204
CSO: 2400

## ARMED FORCES' TIES TO PEOPLE, 'HUMANIST' TRADITION CITED

East Berlin BAUERN-ECHO in German 20 Feb 81 p 5

[Article by Lt Gen E. Hampf, deputy chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA): "For Great Combat Readiness! Everything for the Benefit of the People!"]

[Text] The National People's Army's (NVA's) military class mission consists of providing reliable protection for the socialist order and peaceful existence of GDR citizens and those of all the states of the socialist community against all attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism and reactionaries, and to do so side by side and in close fraternal military cooperation with the glorious Soviet Army and the other socialist fraternal armies. This requires a high level of fighting efficiency and constant combat readiness on the part of combat troops and staffs. They must at any moment by ready and able to avert imperialist aggression and counterrevolutionary attacks and to defeat any enemy in a decisive manner. Not a simple task. It requires the personal commitment of every single soldier and his consciously political action. It requires military expertise and self-sacrifice. Army service is demanding. NVA comrades frequently experience combat alerts, strenuous tactical exercises, combat firing during day and night time, stress tests and actual deployment for the protection of our land, sea and air territories. They must prove themselves anew every day.

And they are proving themselves. This was clearly demonstrated during last fall's "Waffenbruederschaft [Comrades-in-Arms] 80" maneuvers. Remember the impressive TV, radio and press reports which showed that NVA members and their comrades-in-arms are excellently versed in the art of war, joint action in complex military operations and the use of modern weapons and combat techniques.

But that is not the only thing which distinguishes our soldiers. Benefits are derived from the fact that since the NVA's establishment, commanders and political leaders have paid particular attention to communist indoctrination of all army members. They are inculcating them with the persuasion that socialist armed forces have a humanist mission, by indoctrinating them, on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and SED directives, with firm class consciousness, love of their people and homeland, and hatred for all those opposed to peace.

Our people's political and moral unity will find its expression on 1 March, when we celebrate the NVA's 25th anniversary, when the soldiers in the garrisons will

be joined by socialist brigade workers, collective farmers and students of sponsored training courses. It will once again become evident that the GDR's armed forces are devoted to the interests of the working class and to the welfare of the population.

The entire development of the NVA--its founding, structure, equipment, training and education--reflects the fact that the NVA, under SED leadership, constitutes a modern socialist army, a new type of army, which has proven itself in any type of complex situation and will continue to give a good account of itself.

Especially now, when the most aggressive imperialist circles are engaged in tangible efforts of exacerbating the international situation and of accumulating fuel for triggering a war against socialism; when danger to peace and detente keep increasing, there can be no more important task for the NVA than to do its utmost to guarantee a high level of fighting capability and combat readiness. That is why the comrades of the NVA are intensifying their training, why they are acquiring expertise in the use of the most modern technical combat materiel which is increasingly becoming available to the armed forces. That is why they are reinforcing their military collectives and compete with each other under the motto "Combat Position Tenth Party Conference--For Great Combat Readiness! Everything for the Benefit of the People!", with the objective of accomplishing all their tasks in the optimum manner. The NVA comrades are thus integrating themselves into the greatest people's initiative to date in GDR history for the overall strengthening of our socialist fatherland. The party and the people can rely on their army at all times.

What Enables NVA Members To Accomplish Their Military Class Mission?

1. The NVA is the first army of any German state to serve the vital interests of the working class and societal progress. It is the army of the liberated workers and peasants. The sons of our workers and collective farmers fulfill their service obligation, wearing the honored NVA uniform, so that our cities and towns may increasingly prosper and to provide our families with happy prospects. Never before in the history of the German people did an army bear arms in a more defense-worthy cause than the protection of socialism. That is why every one of our soldiers can be proud to wear his military uniform. He is a soldier of the revolution. He bears arms for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the forces of the workers and the farmers of the GDR. The reason for the NVA's increasing power and strength is the fact that it was founded, built up and developed as a people's army and that it is always acting in that capacity. In case of need, it comes to the aid of our agriculture. The fact that the NVA is appreciated by our working class is proven by the cordial and close relationships between agricultural production collectives and the NVA units stationed in their areas. These good relations provide incentives for the soldiers in their service and for the collective farmers in their work.

2. The NVA is the first army of a German state to have the mission of bearing arms for the purpose of maintaining the peace. The socialist soldier is a determined defender of peace, humanity's greatest asset. Side by side with the Soviet Army, the principal pillar of the socialist defense pact, and side by side

with the other fraternal armies, the NVA is fulfilling a historic mission in the truest sense of the word. As a coalition army of the Warsaw Pact it contributes to defying the dangerous activities of the imperialists, to extend its efforts toward ensuring peace for all peoples and for creating optimum conditions for socialist and communist progress. Especially now, when unscrupulous power politicians and NATO military men are threatening socialism with a nuclear missile war, a heavy responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the combined armed forces. Our socialist national defense is perpetually maintained at the required status level. That is why the NVA is being given the most modern technical war materiel, the latest types of tanks, artillery, aircraft and naval vessels. We know this: socialism can force the enemy to abandon his peace-threatening politics only from a position of military strength. The mission of socialist armed forces is the defense of socialism and peace. And the NVA makes its contribution toward the continuation of successful peace politics.

3. The NVA is the first army of a German state in which patriotism and proletarian internationalism are combined. Since its establishment in 1956 our army has always proven its worth as a coalition army. Especially in the staunch fraternal pact with the Soviet Army and naval fleet we find an expression of the insuperable power of the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism which determine the thinking and actions of NVA members. Last but not least, the strength of the GDR and its NVA is based on the strength of our allies, especially the USSR and its armed forces. Together with them we are invincible. We can say this with complete conviction because the Soviet Army, the army of the great socialist October revolution, steeled in the great patriotic war, has always proven its invincibility. The Soviet Army--forever the NVA's shining example--defends socialism and peace in its capacity as the world's greatest military power.

Today more than ever, the NVA, as an esteemed partner in the community of socialist fraternal armies, is closely tied to its Soviet brothers-in-arms. Every day we experience their selfless support. Our relationship becomes closer with every day that passes, especially with the comrades of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) and the Red Flag Baltic Fleet, who jointly with us protect the peace at the borderline between socialism and imperialism in Europe. The enemy does not have a chance! On their day of honor the NVA comrades extend greetings to the working class, its allied class of collective farmers, and the intelligentsia. The soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officer cadets and officers of the NVA vow that they are prepared to accomplish any task of our worker-peasant power for the benefit of the people and the socialist community. Together with all workers they are making appropriate preparations for the Tenth SED Conference, which will develop new objectives for the further evolution of the developed socialist society within which we are creating basic conditions for the gradual transition into communism.

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## IMPROVEMENT SEEN IN HOUSING FOR ARMY MEMBERS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 6, 1981 signed to press 2 Feb 81 p 8

[Interview with Maj Gen Ludwig by Lt Col Kopenhagen, VOLKSARMEE editor: "The Military Construction and Housing Organs of the National People's Army (NVA)--They Don't Merely Provide Lodging, Light, and Heat"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General, what do you regard as the principal course to be followed for attaining a still higher level of effectiveness and quality of the work in your sphere of duty?

[Answer] In the course of a scientific-technical conference we have evaluated the most recent Central Committee meetings and the Seventh Construction Conference on the basis of our minister's task assignments and we have consulted on the tasks set for us for the period of the 1980s and on the possibilities for carrying them out. It is clear that, for us too, the main course leading to increased efficiency will lead via scientific-technical progress. It is necessary for us to carry through our minister's demand that we contribute to the attainment of a higher level of fighting strength and combat readiness, not by way of extensive expension but, above all, through a more intensive utilization of the available time and of the material and financial resources. Accordingly we shall, hand in hand with our people's economy, carry out the instructions of the party to lower construction costs by 15 percent, to save manpower and work hours, fundamentally to improve the economical use of materials and energy, to raise the levels of industrial safety and of work, fire, and environmental protection, as well as to lower administrative costs. An important prerequisite for the attainment of these goals is, above all, a clear politico-ideological motivation on the part of all male and female comrades who work in our sphere of activity. They can successfully and optimistically undertake these difficult but worthwhile tasks through the kind of mass initiative they display in the past in connection with the socialist competition campaign, through exemplary work achievements, through results achieved by them with respect to increased work productivity, exceeding established norms, rational utilization of personnel and resources, as well as through manifold initiatives.

[Question] To what extent can army personnel, civilian employees, and workers help with these endeavors?

[Answer] The leadership of the army has made great efforts to achieve as further improvement of the service and living conditions in the barracks and duty stations

and thus to make them more livable and more attractive environmentally. Of course, this involves the use of considerable financial and material resources. Everyone living and performing his duty or doing his work in the barracks and military establishments can and must cooperate in helping to obtain these resources. The first step toward this end is that one take good care of the equipment and furnishings in the housing units, that one conduct oneself in a disciplined manner and, last but not least, that one make appropriate use of the buildings, installations, and premises. Thereby everyone contributes to an extension of the repair and maintenance cycles and to avoidance of damage to technical installations, to reducing repairs to a minimum and thus to savings in the areas of financial funds, and construction and repair work.

In my estimation, good political and organizational work is being done in most troop formations and at most duty stations to impart to all army members the proper attitude towards the highly valuable buildings and billeting equipment entrusted to our care. Not a few collectives have included in their competitive programs such commitments as proper care of installations and the servicing and maintenance thereof, and not a few party and FDJ basic organizations are doing ideal work in this respect. As an example of this I would like, in addition to many others, to mention the Paul Sasnowski troop formation. The man in charge of its billeting service is Reserve Major Riedel. I am of the opinion that the experiences gathered by our best achievers are suitable for generalizing them and for carrying them through everywhere. We should, among other things, consider this to be our specific duty sphere's contribution to the preparations for the Tenth SED Congress.

Additional considerable support for this endeavor is the fact that our comrades will also in future be very economical in their use of electrical energy, fuel, and water. In this connection, it was possible without any adverse effect on our combat readiness and through good cooperation on the part of the commanders and of all army members and civilian employees to reduce in the winter of 1979/80 alone the consumption of electrical energy by approximately 55 million KWH, 2.8 million $m^3$ of gas, 4,500 tons of heating oil, and 25,000 tons of solid fuel.

An important effect is also derived when army personnel and civilian employees personally cooperate in beautifying their billets and participate in maintenance work. In cooperation with the billeting services, manifold initiatives on the part of our army personnel and civilian employees have in this way been productive of results.

I should also point out our ground forces' tried and proven practice of supporting the billeting services with workman brigades formed from the ranks of soldiers in connection with maintenance work during the transition months.

[Question] Comrade Major General, would you, in conclusion, please tell us something about the housing construction program for army personnel?

[Answer] Of course, one should talk about this subject, because this question touches upon the living conditions of our army members. The Thirteenth Central Committee Meeting has once more reaffirmed the solid will of our party consistently to continue to carry out the housing construction program as an essential part of its social policy with the objective of solving the housing question step-by-step as a social problem by 1990. In our republic, the realization of this objective has already become a reality for hundreds of thousands and, or course, also for the members of

our National People's Army. I am in a position to state that the members of our army and the civilian employees were particularly during the past 10 years supplied with housing units on a continual basis and that their living conditions were greatly improved thereby. Of course, in doing this we are also taking into account the increased demands made on our combat readiness.

Let me also emphasize, if I may, the fact that in the sphere of housing supply for the members of our army we have reached such a level that they were supplied with housing after 1 to 1-1/2 years (there also are many cases in which the waiting periods are considerably shorter), and these waiting periods will be further reduced to a considerable extent on the basis of the housing construction program planned for the period from 1981 to 1985. Of course, in this connection there still exist some differences which are contingent upon individual duty stations. This applies also to individual wishes such as, for instance, a larger living area, and so forth, which we will continue to take into consideration to a greater extent on the basis of the generous new legal regulations and on the pertinent directive newly issued by the minister for national defense on the subject of the supply of housing for career officers, officer candidates, career noncommissioned officers, and civilian employees. And that is the way it has got to be, because the members of our army have a heavy responsibility for the reliable protection of our country. A high level of readiness and great military accomplishments are demanded from the members of our army. Our Comrade Minister is devoting a good deal of personal attention and has as part of our duties assigned to us the task of increasing housing construction for army personnel in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan period with the available funds. This will become noticeable by way of an improved housing supply. Our task within our service sphere consists in making sure that this planned housing increase will be made availalbe at a proper qualitative level and on the stipulated target dates.

I can assure you that we will make every effort to accomplish complete fulfillment of this task.

[Interviewer's concluding remark] Comrade Major General, we thank you for this interview]

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## IDEAS, INFLUENCE OF AGNES HELLER, BUDAPEST SCHOOL OUTLINED

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Sven-Eric Liedman]

[Text] The Marxist cultural philosopher Agnes Heller was recently awarded the German Lessing Prize. Sven-Eric Liedman presents her analyses of everyday life and of the Renaissance man.

Agnes Heller comes from Hungary. She was a highly esteemed pupil of Georg Lukács and hence a representative of the so-called Budapest school, a group of philosophers to the left of what was proper in their home country. The intellectual marginals also gradually became too narrow for Heller, as well as for several of her colleagues. She is now working at La Trobe University, Victoria, Australia.

It was a rather long time before her writings became known outside of Hungary. Probably it was the aging Lukács that gave the impulse to the interest, rapidly rising since, through a little article in which he emphasized that Hungarian Marxist philosophy was really not confined to his own writings. There was a whole group of highly estimable younger thinkers: Hegedüs, Vajda, Márkus, and so on. The very foremost work that had come out up to that time within that group, Lukács said, was a big study of everyday life by Agnes Heller.

### Success

In 1978 "Das Alltagsleben" [Everyday Life] came out in German, 8 years after the Hungarian original. It was an abridged edition, but still a good 500 pages long. By that time Heller's more limited study of the concept of need in Marx had already drawn great attention; it is available today in English, German, and even Danish.

In 1978 an English translation of Heller's powerful study of the Renaissance man also came out; the original had been published in 1967.

Add to these a number of other, smaller works in German and English and a large number of articles promptly published in leading journals, and the picture of international success is complete. Agnes Heller has experienced a success that seldom falls to the lot of authors of thick learned books.

And what lies behind that success?

Perhaps it may be said that Heller is carrying a tradition forward by energetically fixing attention on the theme that certainly belongs to the tradition, but has dropped out of sight. Take, for example, the concept of *need*. It is obvious that there are never such vague ideas as need in the background when economists talk about demand for various goods. But raise the question of what people really need and an embarrassed silence prevails. Or else one is informed that in a free capitalist society need is precisely reflected in the sales statistics. People buy just the amount of chips they need.

In the tradition (or traditions) deriving from Marx there is an obviously critical attitude toward the capitalist view of need. But only superficially and sporadically have Marxists developed thoughts of their own about what need is. Marx and many of his followers talk about need in various combinations: material need, social need, etc. There is not much more.

Agnes Heller attempts to gather the threads together, at least as they stick out of Marx's writings. It may be said that her writing about the Marxist theory of need is fairly preliminary. It contains among other things a committed and necessary coming to terms with socialist and communist puritanism: Luxury, she says, cannot be regarded as a property of certain objects (operas, say, or perfumed soaps); luxury is relative to a social complex. That and similar analyses constitute rather the beginning of a discussion, and as a good beginning have also inspired a number of other, more empirically and historically oriented studies.

The big studies of everyday life are considerably weightier. Agnes Heller is not alone in talking about everyday life as a theoretical or philosophical problem. Karel Kosik's renowned "Dialectic of the Concrete" came out in 1963 and developed and enriched ideas of everyday life, e.g. from existentialism. With Heller's master, Lukács, too, the concept of everyday life came to play a central rôle. The chaos of everyday life is the soil from which all human creations spring, including the most homogeneous works of art and philosophical systems.

Heller stays quite close to Lukács, particularly in formulation of problems and in terminology; in this her way of thinking and writing belongs to heavy, powerful continental tradition. But it is everyday life as such and not its products that her attention is centered upon. In everyday life it is always the individual that binds the chains of action together. What unites the morning hour at the breakfast table, the early deliveries, the hours on the job with all its more or less accidental contacts, the evening's pleasures and entertainments--or whatever else may fill up a day from reveille to taps--is always an *individual*.

Every person's everyday life is thus unique. But the various stages along this unique path have their connection, their normality, their time and class and group constants. To study everyday life is thus to study the interplay between the unique and the typical at various levels.

Agnes Heller's definition of everyday life has become famous:

"For it to be possible to reproduce society, it is necessary for the individual to be able to reproduce himself as an individual. Everyday life is the sum of the activities that the individual carries out for his own reproduction. But at the same time, that reproduction creates difficulties for the whole society's reproduction."

Consequently, for a person to be able to continue to live (reproduce himself) he must satisfy a number of needs determined historically and otherwise. If not, his life will change in one way or another; in the worst case it ends. But the individual's survival is the prerequisite for the whole society's continued existence.

It is the combination of the little, individual perspective and the big, social perspective that is important here. The combination is not remarkable in itself; its necessity has been pointed out by many (including Marx, who often speaks of the worker's reproduction of his own life). What is worth noting here is that Heller has been able so consistently to keep the individual reproduction in view and analyze its connection with the central categories of the social theories, from "the community" and the "we-consciousness" via "work" to the everyday time consciousness.

"Common Sense"

One interesting section deals with everyday thinking and its relation to other kinds of thinking. The structure of everyday thinking, of spontaneous, unreflecting thinking, changes slowly, its content somewhat faster. But its relation to other kinds of thinking is historically relative. In modern, secularized times everyday thinking can represent "common sense" (and so something positive) as compared, e.g., to the teachings of theology, while it stands out as prejudices in comparison, e.g., to natural science.

Such a historical perspective leavens most of what Agnes Heller has written. That is not the least of the ways in which she shows herself a pupil of Georg Lukács; sometimes the *"historical"* element is actually even more marked in her. That is to be seen especially in her big book that has been translated into English as "Renaissance Man." One of her central theses in it is to repudiate the idea that the renaissance really relived the central theme of Roman or Greek antiquity. Every historical epoch contains something radically new. The great new element of the Renaissance is the picture of the *dynamic* man, the man that creates his own destiny. Heller is a good enough Marxist that she put this new element into relation to the development of material production and action. She points this out, however, in a rather meager way. It is in other areas that her combination of scholarship and audacity awakens her reader to new insights--and new questions.

God's Equal

See, e.g., the way in which she anchors Luther's central thesis, that it is faith alone and not works that make a good Christian. Through the dynamic human vision man becomes God's equal in his actions, she says. Then the specifically religious sphere, in which man is wholly dependent on his God, must be confined exclusively to another sphere, namely faith.

It is a brilliant idea, but I seek in vain for empirical backing for it in Heller's presentation.

There is also a rich tissue of sometimes very palpable pieces of reality that are combined in that book. Art, drama, philosophy, science are fitted together. The author leans safely upon her extensive Central European reading.

A central chapter deals with the everyday life of the Renaissance. Agnes Heller emphasizes the brutality of that everyday life; its "common sense" thus often becomes a very remarkable sense for us. But during the Renaissance everyday experiences acquire a wholly new relationship to knowledge and science. The sharp differentiation of the Middle Ages breaks down; science has something to learn from the most everyday insights and occupations. But at the same time the insight awakens that everyday experiences can have their systematically interesting sources of error. This insight is fully developed in and by Francis Bacon's teaching concerning man's "idols"--illusions that lead him astray.

Agnes Heller, as I have said, is a historist in her view of the historically unique, but probably she underestimates the lessons history can teach us. It is also clear that she is more purely personally involved in Renaissance culture than in the picture of the history that it gives strange, distant hints of.

It is the combination of radicalism, learning, and personal attachment that characterizes Agnes Heller's work. In our latitudes, at least, that is an unusual combination.

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Agnes Heller was born in 1929 in Hungary and had Georg Lukács, in particular, as her academic teacher. She early became a member of the communist party but was expelled toward the end of the 1950's, accused of revisionism. Later she was rehabilitated.

Between 1963 and 1973 she held a research post in sociology with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but was dismissed because of her protests against the intervention in Czechoslovakia. She is now senior lecturer at La Trobe University in Australia.

Her first big work dealt with Aristoteles's ethics (in Hungarian, 1956), and among her later works may be mentioned "Renaissance Man," in Hungarian, 1967, English translation, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978; "Everyday Life," in Hungarian, 1970, abridged German translation, "Das Alltagsleben," Edition Suhrkamp, 1978; "The Theory of Need in Marx," in Hungarian, 1974, English translation, Allison & Busby, London, 1976, also published in German translation and in Danish--"Teorien om de menneskelige behov hos Marx," Modtryk, with postscript by H.-J. Schantz and H.J. Thomsen; and, original in German, "Philosophie des linken Radikalismus" [The Philosophy of Leftist Radicalism], USA Verlag, Hamburg, 1978.

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TEST OF PZPR ELECTION BYLAWS

## Commentary on Election Bylaws

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 p 8

[Article: "The Election Bylaws"; Passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /In the discussion which has been going on in the party for many months, a prominent place has been and continues to be occupied by problems related to the principles of electing authorities and delegates to conferences./ The instructions of the Central Committee Secretariat, issued in September 1971 and slightly modified in September 1975, were subjected to general criticism in the basic party organizations [POP] as limiting intraparty democracy.

In the course of that discussion, hundreds of recommendations and proposals for new solutions were addressed to the Central Committee, and new drafts of election principles in the party were submitted. On the basis of this ample material, a draft of new election bylaws was prepared in the Central Committee and it was presented at the seventh plenum of the Central Committee. After a number of consultations, in December 1980 the /"Provisional Bylaws Governing Election of Authorities and Delegates in the PZPR"/, whose test we publish below, were accepted.

The Central Committee, while accepting the new election bylaws, defined them as porvisional. This is a realistic approach. Because it would be difficult to solve all issues related to election principles today, when the discussion of the practical application of the Leninist norms of [intraparty] life is very lively and will develop still more during precongress work on the Party Statute.

The provisional character of the bylaws stems also from the fact that many submitted proposals are mutually contradictory and selection among them ought to be left to the highest authority of the party.

The provisional character of the accepted solutions assumes also that the present experience in applying them will be utilized in the work on the future permanent election bylaws.

/What is the essence of the changes in the new election bylaws in relation to the old election instructions?/

/In the chapter, "PREPARATORY WORK ON MEETINGS AND CONFERENCE:/

/--All echelons/ (and not only KW [voivodship committees]) have the obligation of furnishing delegates with reports of outgoing authorities (echelons of auditing comissions and of party control commissions) and draft resolutions not later than /10 days/ before the date of a conference (there used to be only 7 days only for KW), which facilitates consultation in the milieus.

--Meetings and conferences should be held /as a rule/ during time off work.

--/Delegates have the obligation/ to sumit at a conferance the proposals, by name, of those candidates for authorities which were collected at consultative meetings. The rule that "consultation will be conducted by outgoing authorities" has been deleted.

--A clearer characterization of the traits of candidates for authorities gives preference to values of character and mind, to criticism and adherence to moral principles.

--The "key" principle concerning women and youth has been renounced.

--The principle of limitation of combining /party functions/ with leadership positions in the administration and economy has been introduced.

/In the chapter "SIZE OF CONFERENCES":/

--Norms of representation at a conference are set by an appropriate committee, /without clearance from a higher echelon./

--The number of delegates to a multilevel conference has been /raised./

--The principle has been introduced that nondelegate members of outgoing authorities participate in conference and that the number of invitees cannot exceed one-quarter of the total number of delegates.

--Election of delegates to a basic-level conference can /also/ be held at milieu conferences.

/In the chapter "CONFERENCE ORGANS":/

--The Election Commission /has the obligation to justify/ the composition of the proposed list of candidates.

--The detailed rule concerning the social and professional milieus from which candidates should be recruited has been abandoned.

/In the chapter "VALIDITY, AGENDA...":/

--At conferences of all levels, the obligation of /also/ placing on the agenda the report of the party Control Commission has been introduced.

--At conferences, a part of the discussion can take place in issues teams, but /with the conference's consent./

--In place of /a recommendation, the possibility/ of holding a conference in two stages has been introduced.

/In the chapter "ELECTION OF AUTHORITIES AND DELEGATES":/

--The principles of election of authorities and delegates to an all-level conference /and to a congress/ have been /made uniform./

--The principle of a /permanent number of members of authorities/, established by the conference /without clearance from a higher echelon/ (as was the case previously) has been introduced in place of establishing the number of candidates for whom to vote, which enabled anyone receiving over 50 percent of the votes to be elected to authorities.

--Delegates have the right to submit /additionally up to 50 percent of the candidates/ above the established number of members of authorities--up to this time it has been up to 15 percent.

--While the principle that party members who are not delegates can be candidates for party authorities and delegates to a conference is mantained, it has been limited by the provision that this can be done "in justified cases" and "with the consent of the conference as expressed in open voting."

--A totally new rule is the principle that candidates who are not elected by the conference /cannot be candidates again/ during the same election campaign.

/In the chapter "SUBMISSION OF CANDIDACIES":/

--During the submission of the names of additional candidates, /each/ comrade can submit only /one candidate's name/.

--Invitees and candidate party members have the right to advisory vote during a discussion of candidates.

/In the chapter "SCRUTINIZING COMMISSION":/

--The rule stating that "Representatives of a higher echelon can participate in the work of the scrutinizing commission" has been replaced by a somewhat different one: "In order to familiarize themselves with the process of the scrutinizing commission's work, representatives of a higher echelon may participate in its session."

/In the chapter "VOTING":/

--Contrary to the old instructions, the new principles state that the number of those elected /may not/ exceed the numerical size of authorities as established by a conference.

/In the chapter "ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE BODIES AND OF SECRETARIES":/

--The /numerical ceiling of the executive bodies/ has been raised.

--/The requirements of party service length for secretaries have been increased:/

--In the election of voivodship committee secretaries, the principle of /previous/ holding of party or social elective posts has been introduced.

--/The principle of secrecy in the election of party authorities of all levels has been extended to the election of executive organs of echelons: executive bodies, first secretaries, and group leaders./

--Allowance is made for /the possibility of open elections of executive bodies of echelons,/ if supported by over 50 percent of those entitled to vote; in such a case, individual candidates are voted for openly.

--The old rule of the old instructions which stated that the election of secretaries--from the POP to KW--"is confirmed by a party echelon." "In its place,, a new rule has been introduced: "The regularity of the election of authoriries is affirmed by a higher party echelon"--which already has a different meaning. However, this change--if one should understand it as renouncing the confirmation of secretaries by a higher echelon--would conflict to some extent with the Party Statute in which Point 42 states: "A higher echelon confirms the election of secretaries," referring to secretaries of voivodship, gmina, city and city section committees. The work on the Statute will probably define also this issue unambiguously.

## Provisional Bylaws

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 pp 9-12

[Provisional Bylaws on Election of Authorities and Delegates]

[Text] /INTRODUCTION

/Meetings and report-and-election conferences are an important event in the life of party members and the activity of all of the party's components. They play a decisive role in the evaluation and programing of party work and in the implementation of the statutory rights and obligations of party members.

/Meetings and conferences should contribute to the development of intraparty democracy and the strengthening of party discipline, the democracy and the strengthening of party discipline, the adherence to the Leninist standards of party life, the formation of permanent ties of party organizations and echelons with the working people and their aspirations. They should also contribute to securing the genuine influence of party members on the election of party authorities and on the content of programs which reflect the most vital problems of their milieu. They should also contribute to the development of the initiative and offensive capability of the members and candidate members--of the whole party.

/At meetings and conferences, conditions should be created for ideological activation, for increasing party offensive capability and for a universal discussion of the most vital problems, for free submission of candidates for authorities and delegates, for a penetrating and responsible evaluation of these candidates, for open utterance of remarks and opinions, for submission of proposals, and for decision through voting about the composition of the authorities being elected.

/Meetings and conferences should be held in an atmosphere of working open discussion which includes an objective and at the same time critical and constructive evaluation of party work. Programs and resolutions should define courses of action and concrete tasks for the POP and party members./

I

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF PREPARATION AND CONDUCT REPORT-AND-ELECTION OF MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

/Preparatory Work for Meetings and Conferences/

1. Reports of outgoing authorities of party organizations and echelons should be prepared with the participation of the aktiv and, after a discussion, should be approved by the executive bodies of the POP/OPP [division party organization] or by party committees of appropriate levels.

Participation in the collective preparation of report materials does not limit the right to come out, at a meeting (conference) with one's own evaluation of party work.

Reports of party echelons and also reports of auditing commissions and party control commissions, after being approved, should be delivered together with a draft resolution to the delegates not later than 10 days before the date of a conference. There should be consultation about conference materials and draft resolutions with delegates in the milieu in which they were elected.

The principle of previous delivery of reports and draft resolutions to the delegates should be applied in plant and milieu committees and party echelons of all levels.

2. /The date of a meeting (conference) should be made known at least a week earlier and should be planned, as a rule, during time of work.

3. /During the period of preparation for party meetings and conferences, milieu consultative meetings should be organized for the purpose of discussing report and program materials and collecting proposals by name of candidates for party authorities and delegates to a higher-level conference. Authorized delegates have the obligation to submit these proposals to the Election Commission at a conference.

4. /Candidates for party authorities should be/ comrades with a high sense of responsibility, who are ideaminded and capable of defending the party's good name and policy; who enjoy confidence and authority in their milieu; who are experienced in social and political work; who are sensitive to human concerns; who can resolutely combat demagogy, factionalism, abuses and corruption, and are capable of a critical evaluation of their own work and a collective resolution of the milieu's problems.

Every effort should be made to propose for party authorities the most politically and socially mature representatives of the most important social and professional milieus of a given locality, and particularly representatives of the main concentrations of the working class.

Limits should be placed on combining party functions with leadership positions in the state and economic administration at the same level of operation, and above all, on entrusting several elective party functions to one comrade.

5. Upper party echelons should conduct studies and evaluations of the results of the political or ideological and educational work of a given party organization or echelon up to the present time, presenting their remarks and recommendations.

/The Size of a Conference/

6. Election of a gmina, city-gmina, and city committee which directs an organization having fewer than 400 members and deputy members, is held at a general meeting if conditions permit.

A voivodship committee (KW) executive body can give its consent to hold elections of a gmina, city-gmina, city, plant and milieu committee which directs an organization having fewer than 400 members and deputy members, at a conference.

7. Elections of gmina, city-gmina, city, city section, and also plant and milieu committees in organizations having over 400 members and deputy members, and in voivodship organizations, are held at conferences.

8. The number of delegates to party conferences ought to provide for appropriate representation of individual milieus, taking into consideration the size of party organizations.

/The number of delegates should not exceed:/

--at plant and milieu conferences, 200 persons;

--at gmina, city-gmina, and city conferences, 250 persons;

--at city and city section conferences (over 10,000 members), 350 persons;

--at voivodship conferences, 500 persons.

/The norms of representation to a conference are established by an appropriate party committee. Members of outgoing authorities who are not delegates participate in the conference.

/The number of those invited to a conference should not exceed one-quarter of the total of elected delegates./

9. Delegates to gmina, city-gmina, city, and city section conferences are elected directly by basic (division) party organizations at plant and milieu meetings or conferences.

Delegates to plant and milieu conferences are elected at POP/OOP meetings.

In basic organizations whose membership is smaller than provided for by the established norms of representation, elections of delegates to gmina, city-gmina, city, and city section conferences are held at a general meeting of combined the POP. Decisions in this matter are made by the executive bodies of upper party echelons.

10. Delegates to a voivodship conference are elected by gmina, city-gmina, city and city section conferences. In gmina, city-gmina, and city organizations with small memberships, delegates to conferences are elected by a general meeting of party members.

/Organs of Conferences (Meetings)/

11. For the purpose of conducting a report-and-election meetings in party organizations having up to 15 members and candidate members, the chairman of a meeting is elected in open voting, and a presidium is elected in more numerous organizations and at conferences.

Representatives of higher party echelons are invited to participate in the presidium of a conference or a meeting.

12. A report-and-election meeting (conference) sets up the agenda and the rules of deliberations.

13. At report-and-election meetings and conferences, appropriate commissions are elected in open voting from among the members of a given organization or from among the delegates.

/The Motions Commission/ has the task of editing motions which were submitted during consultations or discussion and presenting them in the form of a draft resolution or a program of action to be decided upon by the meeting (conference).

/The Mandate Commission/ at party conferences verifies, on the basis of records, the validity of the delegates' mandates and their presence at the conference, and it presents a motion to recognize the conference's validity.

/The Election Commission/ is elected at an all-level party conference in order to prepare a list of candidates for authorities and for delegates. In the composition of the Election Commission should be represented, above all, delegates from the most numerous party milieus.

Report-and-election meetings of POP and OOP having over 1,000 members each, and also citywide, gminawide, and milieuwide meetings /may/ make decisions about appointing an Election Commission.

14. The intent of appointing an Election Commission is to create favorable conditions for universal and reasoned examination of preliminary proposals regarding the personal composition of future authorities as well as of delegates to a higher-level party conference.

The Election Commission presents the proposals, taking into consideration recommendations of candidates which were collected during consultations from individual milieus and party organizations and also motions submitted by party members (delegates) directly to the Election Commission during the deliberations of a meeting or conference. The Election Commission has an obligation to justify the composition of the list of candidates proposed by it.

An authorized representative of an upper party echelon may participate in the work of the Election Commission.

/Validity of and Agenda for Meetings and Conferences/

15. /Meetings and conferences are valid with the participation of over 50 percent of their members or delegates/.

The presence of members and candidate members at a report-and-election meeting or of delegates at a conference is verified, on the basis of an attendance list, by /the chairman of a meeting, by the presidium, or by the Mandate Commission/, informing those present about it.

16. All party members who are in the membership records of a given organization have the right to a deciding vote at a report-and-election meeting; so do delegates at a conference who were duly elected by party meetings or at lower-level conferences.

17. The right to an advisory vote at conferences is the prerogative of invited comrades and of representatives of upper party echelons, and also of candidate party members at general meetings.

18. /The agenda of a report-and-election meeting and of a conference/ should include:

a) a report on the activity of a party organization (echelon), or the opening of a discussion (if the report was mailed out previously);

b) discussion;

c) election of authorities and delegates to a higher-level conference;

d) acceptance of a resolution or of a program of action.

19. At plant, gmina, city, city section and voivodship conferences, a report of an appropriate auditing commission and party control commission should be placed on the agenda.

20. Part of the discussion may take place, with the conference's consent, in issues teams so as to give a greater number of delegates an opportunity to speak, and also to provide an opportunity to discuss in detail vital problems which are essential to a given organization or echelon.

It is also possible to hold a conference in two stages.

In the first stage, the delegates should be familiarized with the report materials and the draft of an action program, with evaluation by an upper echelon and information of the management of a plant or an institution, and then an election of the organs of a conference should be held and candidacies for the committee and for delegates to a higher-level conference should be submitted.

The report, the draft program, and the submitted candidacies are subsequently discussed at POP/OPP meetings.

In the second stage, not later than within 10-14 days, the second part of the conference should be held, at which the delegates, on the basis of the substance of POP/OOP meetings, discuss the report and program of action and conduct the election of authorities and delegates and also accept a resolution (program of action).

/Report Meetings/

21. In conformity with the Statute, basic (division) party organizations hold report meetings in the middle of a term of office.

/The order of a report meeting/ should include:

a) a report on the activity of the POP/OOP and of its executive body;

b) discussion;

c) acceptance of motions for continued work.

/ELECTION OF PARTY AUTHORITIES AND OF CONFERENCE DELEGATES/

In conformity with Point 2 of the PZPR Statute:

/"Election for party authorities is secret. The voting is for individual candidacies, all party members (delegates) having the right to submit candidacies and also the right to interpose objections and charges with regard to candidates whose names have been submitted."

1. Party authorities and delegates to conferences of all levels and also to a party congress, are elected on the basis of the following principles:/

a) A meeting (conference), in conformity with points 2 and 3 of Chapter II of these bylaws, sets the number of members of the party authorities appropriate for a given POP/OPP;

b) The Election Commission, guided by the principles which are defined in Point 14 of Chapter I, submits the names of candidates for authorities in the number accepted by the conference or POP, and the names of candidates according to an established norm of representation;

c) Party members (delegates) submit additionally up to 50 percent of authorities and delegates. In the event that the number of members of authorities and delegates to be elected is one or two, the name of one candidate is submitted additionally; on the other hand, when this number is three, the names of two additional candidates are submitted;

d) Party members who are not delegates may be candidates for party authorities and for delegates to higher-level conferences, in justifiable cases, with the consent of the conference as expressed through open voting;

e) Persons who had been candidates for delegates and were not elected by the conference may not be candidates again during the same election campaign.

2. The number of members of authorities, as established by individual meetings (conferences) for individual sizes and kinds of POP/OOP and echelons, is:

--in POP/OOP which have up to 15 members and candidate members, 2;

--in POP/OOP which have up to 100 members and candidate members, from 3 to 9;

--in POP/OOP which have between 100 and 400 members and candidate members, from 7 to 11;

--in plant and milieu organizations, which have between 100 and 400 members and candidate members, from 9 to 19; between 400 and 1,000 members and candidate members, from 19 to 33 and 5 to 15 members of auditing commissions; over 1,000 members and candidate members, from 33 to 75 members, and also 7 to 19 alternate members and 5 to 19 members of audit commissions;

--in gmina, city-gmina, and city organizations having fewer than 1,000 members and candidates, from 19 to 33 and 5 to 15 members of auditing commissions; in the above-mentioned organizations and city section organizations having over 1,000 members and candidate members, from 33 to 75 members, 7 to 19 deputy members, and 5 to 18 members of audit commissions;

--in voivodship party organizations, from 63 to 121 KW members, 15 to 35 KW alternate members, and 19 to 51 members of the Voivodship Auditing Commission [WKR].

3. The number /of the members of authorities/ is proposed by the presidium of meeting or conference. The number of /the delegates/ to a higher-level conference is established by the executive body of an upper echelon in conformity with the accepted norms of representation.

/Submission of Candidacies/

4. At conferenes of all levels (and in those POP where an Election Commission has been appointed), the list of candidates for authorities and delegates is established on the basis of proposals of the Election Commission and individual submissions:

a) the Election Commission submits the names of the number of persons which equals the number of candidates, the latter having been established by the conference (meetings);

b) party members (delegates) submit additionally up to 50 percent of candidacies, only one candidate being proposed by each comrade;

c) invitees and party candidates have the right to an advisory vote discussion of candidates for party authorities and delegates.

5. At POP/OOP meetings where no election commissions are appointed, the list of candidates is established on the basis of individual proposals of party members, submitted directly at the meeting.

6. For each candidacy which is submitted individually by individual members of a meeting (conference) or an election commission, there should be sufficient justification.

7. Before being placed on an election list, a proposed candidate expresses his consent to be a candidate.

8. Should objections be raised with regard to any one of the proposed candidates whose names have been submitted individually or by the Election Commission, the party members (delegates), after a discussion, decide by a majority of votes--in open voting--whether to place a given candidacy on the list of candidates.

9. Candidates to whom no objections were raised are placed on the list without voting.

10. After submitting a full list of candidates, the party members (delegates) have the right to propose additional candidacies. Then the proposer should indicate which person already on the list he proposes to replace by the candidate whose name he submits. The final decision is made by the meeting (conference) in open voting.

11. After a discussion of the candidacies and completion of their submission, separate voting lists are prepared for voting for members of authorities, alternate members, members of the audit commission, and delegates to a higher-level conference.

On each of the lists, the surnames of all the candidates are listed in alphabetical order.

/Scrutinizing Commission/

12. After establishing the list of candidates, the meeting elects, in open voting, /a scrutinizing commission. Its members may not be those who are candidates for authorities and delegates./ The number of the commission's members is determined, according to needs, by the meeting (conference). Proposals regarding the composition of the scrutinizing commission are submitted by delegates or particip atns in the meeting (conference).

The task of the scrutinizing commission is the preparation of election lists, the conduct of the voting, and the determination of the results of an election. After conducting the voting, the scrutinizing commission tallies the votes and prepares a record in which the results of voting for each candidate should be indicated separately.

The record is signed by all the members of the scrutinizing commission. The commission presents a report at a meeting (conference), indicating separately the number of votes which each candidate received. With the aim of familiarizing themselves with the process of the work of the scrutinizing commission, representatives of an upper echelon can participate in its s ssion.

13. In party organizations which have fewer than 15 members and candidate members, a scrutinizing commission is not elected, and the determination of the results of the voting is entrusted to the chairman or another participant of a meeting. The result of the voting is made part of the minutes of the meeting.

14. Before the beginning of voting, the chairman of a meeting or conference informs those present about the basic principles of conducting an election which are contained in these bylaws.

15. The documentation of the voting (election lists, the report of the commission, the minutes of the meeting) is kept by the newly elected committee, by the executive body, or by the POP/OOP secretar'.

These documents are destroyed after a subsequent report-and-election meeting (conference).

/Voting/

16. The voter /chooses/ from among the candidates on the ballot by /not crossing out the names of those for whom he votes./ On the other hand, he crosses out at least as many names as have been submitted additionally over the number of members of authorities which was determined by the conference (meeting), and in case of election of delegates--over the number which was established by an upper echelon on the basis of the norms of representation.

17. Considered as having been elected to authorities and delegates are those who received in succession the largest number and over 30 percent of valid votes. The number of members of authorities and delegates must be equal to a number resulting from a resolution taken by a meeting or conference with regard to the size of authorities as well as from the norm of representation for delegates which was established by an upper echelon.

18. Should two or more candidates receive the same number and over 50 percent of valid votes, and should this cause exceeding the established number of members of authorities or delegates, /additional voting/ is ordered. Then on the ballots are placed, in alphabetical order, the names of all the candidates who received the same number of votes.

19. Should, in a voting, the required number of votes be received by fewer candidates than the established number of members of authorities or delegates, /supplementary voting/ is conducted. The ballots contain one candidate more than the number of vacant positions.

20. A vote should be considered invalid if the voter turns in his ballot:

--without crossing out any names;

--on which the number of names which have not been crossed out exceeds the established number of members and delegates who are to be elected.

/Election of Executive Bodies and of Secretaries/

21. A session of the newly elected authorities is conducted by the chairman of a meeting or conference. A representative of an upper echelon participates in the meeting.

22. The executive bodies of basic and division party organization elect one to three secretaries from among themselves. /In POP/OOP which have up to 15 members and candidate members,/ the meeting entrusts the function of the first secretary to one of the comrades elected to authorities, and the function of the POP/OOP secretary to another comrade.

23. Plenary sessions of all gmina, city, city-gmina, and also plant and milieu committees of an organization which has fewer than 1,000 members and candidate members, elect their executive bodies consisting of 9 to 11 persons each, including the first secretary and 2 to 3 secretaries.

24. Plenary sessions of city, city-gmina, city, city section and also plant and milieu committees of organizations with over 1,000 members and candidate members, elect from among themselves executive bodies whose composition should not exceed 15 members, including the first secretary and 2 to 3 secretaries.

25. Plenary sessions of KW elect from among themselves executive bodies whose composition should not exceed 19 to 25 members each, and also elect the KW secretariat. The number of KW secretaries for individual voivodships is set by the secretariat of the Central Committee.

26. It is recommended that to the posts of basic and division party organizations be elected those party members who have been in the party for at least /3 years/; that to the posts of secretaries of gmina, city, city section and also plant and milieu committees be elected those who have been in the party for /5 years/; that to the posts of KW secretaries be elected those who have been in the party for /7 years/ and were previously elected to and held party or social posts.

27. During elections of executive bodies, first secretaries of voivodship, city, city section, city-gmina, gmina, plant and milieu committees, first secretaries of POP/OOP and group party leaders, secret balloting is used. Open voting can be conducted if over 50 percent of those entitled to vote declare themselves in favor of it.

During a session of newly elected party echelons up to and including KW, and also in plant and milieu committees, the following principles of secret balloting are obligatory:

a) the newly elected committee establishes, in open voting, the numerical composition of the executive body;

b) in the first order of business, the first secretary is elected, being recognized simultaneously as having been elected to the executive body;

c) the first secretary submits the names of the remaining candidates for the executive body in a previously established number;

d) the committee members submit additional candidacies for the executive body in a number up to 50 percent;

e) the balloting is conducted by a scrutinizing commission, elected from among the committee members.

28. A voivodship, city, city section, city-gmina, gmina, and also plant and milieu committee elects, in open voting, secretaries from among the members of the executive body. A KW may elect, from among its number, secretariat members to the voivodship secretariat who are not members of the executive body.

29. During an open election, voting is done individually for individual candidates, for the first secretary, for members of the executive body and for secretaries.

30. The above-mentioned principles of voting are utilized appropriately in the election of a chairman and also members of the presidiums of auditing commissions.

31. The regularity of an election of authorities is confirmed by an upper party echelon, and, with regard to the auditing commission, by an upper-level auditing commission.

/Supplementation of Authorities During a Term of Office/

32. When, during a postelection period, an executive body is depleted in a number not exceeding 50 percent of its composition, a /supplementary election/ is conducted according to the principles which are defined in these bylaws.

33. Before the expiration of a term of office /new elections/ of an executive body should be held, when the changes exceed 50 percent of its composition.

34. In conformity with the PZPR Statute, gmina, city-gmina, city, city section, and KW have the right to recall from their composition individual members and also to appoint in their place new members from among deputy members, or, in justified cases, from among those who are not deputy members.

These changes may not exceed one-fifth of the composition of a committee which was elected by a conference.

36. Newly elected authorities and also delegates to conferences have the obligation to familiarize all the party organizations with the proceedings of a report-and-election conference and with resolutions which were accepted.

/PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE/

/Warsaw, December 1980/

9577
CSO: 2600

## WORK OF CONGRESS COMMISSION SUMMARIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 p 1

[Article: "From Work of the Congress Commission"--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bodlface]

[Text] /The Congress Commission, born out of the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, deliberated in Warsaw on 2 February holding its second general meeting. The proceedings were chaired by PZPR First Secretary Comrade Stanislaw Kania. The keynote address to the discussions concerning the draft proposals and assumptions for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, was a presentation by a member of Political Bureau, Central Committee Secretary Comrade Stefan Olszewski, who directed the work of the Congress Commission's secretariat. Twenty-three speakers participated in the discussions which lasted many hours. The discussions were terminated with a speech by Stanislaw Kania./

The discussion represented a wide scale of views, opinions and conclusions which mirrored the course of a discussion maintained in the basic party organizations during the course of the past several months, as well as at the voivodship groups conducting precongress discussions. /The dominating theme was that of resoluteness in the realization of socialist renewal processes with a simultaneous fight against views and attitudes which would harm the party and socialism./

Much in the discussions was taken by the subject of guarantees of an uninterrupted continuation of processes initiated by the sixth and seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee and to matters relevant to safeguards against any mistakes and deviations in the future. Because of this/an extremely important aspect of the deliberations were internal party problems--problems concerning a proper understanding of democratic centralism, realization of Leninistic norms of party life and a definition by statute of the high demands relative to party members./

From a deep concern about party unity, about its true Marxist-Leninist character, about fulfillment by the PZPR of its leadership role in the society, there emerged many voices dedicated to /the qualitative criteria of party membership, a clear formulation of the rights and obligations of members, their unequivocal ideological attitude and higher moral standards./ At the same time--it was confirmed--/the essence of [belonging to] the party must manifest itself not in declarations but in actions which are responsive to all that serves the interests of the working class and the development of socialism./

Talking about the necessity to improve the state, the conferees stressed the development of socialist democracy, self-government and law and order. /Many comrades, while formulating propositions and conclusions for the future, drew conclusions from the difficult appraisal of the continuing process of renewal--a lack of uniformity in the union movement, and the role which should be fulfilled, in social life, by "Solidiarity." In this respect the concensus was in favor of consistent realization of the text of the August-September accords, which should have been included in precongress documentation and, at the same time, opposed to all attempts at destabilization or pressuring which--directly or indirectly--disrupt the intent of these accords./

Speaking on the necessity to formulate a positive program, the conferees indicated a need for a particularly responsible treatment of the socioeconomic problems. The fact that the current economic situation was worse than it was 6 months ago indicated a need for an analysis of the causes, not only of the past crises but also of the difficult phase of emerging from the current crisis, and regarding the formulation of the fundamental and at the same time indispensable ways out. Serving this end should be the report on the state of the economy and the 3-year program of economic stabilization. These documents, in addition to the already published draft of economic reform, will make a comprehensive packet which will allow a multisided looked at the socioeconomic affairs of the state.

Much of the discussion was dedicated to the affairs of the younger generation, the problems of upbringing and of ideologically formulating work, the role of education and culture. In all these undertakings, it would be indispensable that the end results of all activities would have to be a reflection of the assumptions of the program.

/The rich context of the reflections and conclusions brought about by a discussion of those subjects will form the basis of the full text of the program assumptions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. In the course of further work--as always--the Commission will benefit from the collective wisdom of the entire party which flows from the voices of party organizations./

Taking part in the discussions were: /Albin Siwak/, candidate member of the Central Committee, brigade leader at the Warsaw East Urban Construction Combine; /Marian Mazur/, first secretary of the PZPR in the State Railroad Car Factory PA-FA-WAG in Wroclaw; /Marian Chrawik/, operator of transloading equipment on a coal belt transporter in Port Szczecin; /Zdzislaw Grzelak/, director of the Lodz Political Science Institute's Inter-University; /Waclaw Wilczynski/, director of the Economics Institute at the Political Economics Academy in Poznan; /Jan Nowakowski/, director of the Agricultural Schools Complex in Biala Piska; /Stefan Bratkowski/, president of the Association of Polish Journalists; /Stefan Olszowski/, member Political Bureau, Central Committee secretary; /Zdzislaw Cackowski/, director of the Philosophy Institute at Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin, /Andrzej Wasilewski/, member of the Central Committee, director of State Publishing Institute in Warsaw; /Gerard Gabrys/, member of the Central Committee, shot firer at the Barbara-Chorzow coal mine in Katowice Voivodship; /Jerzy Wiatr/, professor, Sociology Institute of University of Warsaw; /Eugenia Kempara/, member of the Central Committee, chairperson of the National Council of Polish Women and of the Main Board of the Women's League; /Stanislaw Janicki/, director of the Applied Pharmaceutics Department of the Gdansk Medical Academy; /Barbara Rogala/,

deputy director of National Organic Industry Plant Organika-Rokita department in Brzeg Dolny; /Jozef Pajestka/, member of the Central Committee, chairman of the PTE [Main Administration of the Polish Economic Society]; /Albin Szyszka/, chairman of the Main Administration of Communication Workers Trade Union, chairman of the Commission on Understanding between Branch Trade Unions; /Zygmunt Najdowski/, member of the Central Committee, secretary of the Torun Executive Committee of the PZPR; /Wladyslaw Markiewicz/, academic secretary of the First Department of Social Sciences at the Polish Academy of Sciences; /Tadeusz Haladaj/,--candidate member of the Central Committee, First secretary of the Tarnobrzeg Executive Committee of PZPR; /Ryszard Taraszkiewicz/, univeristy lecturer, member of the University Committee's Executive committee of the PZPR at the Jagiellonian University; /Antoni Rajkiewicz/ director of the Social Politics Institute at University of Warsaw and /Kazimierz Kakol/, member of the Central Audit Commission of the PZPR, publicist.

9511
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CENTRALISM, DEMOCRACY IN PARTY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 pp 2, 3

[Article by Prof Dr Habilitatus Adolf Dobieszewski, Director of the Party Studies at the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS) of the PZPR Central Committee. He is the author of several papers in the field of party theory and, among others, a book entitled "A Sketch of Leninistic Science About the Party": "Centralism and Democracy in the Party"--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Democratic centralism is the cornerstone of Leninistic principles of party life and the fundamental mechanism of party activity./ It gives the party a closely knit structure with interdependencies and relations: between party members and the party organization and its authorities, between party authorities and party organizations of a different level; within the leadership groups of particular organizations and party echelons. Democratic centralism is at the same time a factor of ideological and political cohesiveness and a unity of action of the party as a whole and of its component parts.

/The essence of a centralistic party construction/, in the Leninistic meaning of that word, /is the monogeneous, efficient managing for the implementation of the goals of socialism./ The homongeneous management demands:

--subordination of the entire party to the will of the majority of the party;

--subordination of the lower elements of the party's structure and their leadership to the higher elements and their leadership;

--willing discipline binding equally on all party members.

The need for a fully centralized party does not result from--as some people believe--the extraordinary conditions of the proletariat's struggle for power, rather it comes from the very essence of the historical task of the working class in the realm of the construction of socialism. It is because of these considerations that V. Lenin demanded a strong position for the party's central authority and its orientation in relation to the entire party as the elementary condition for harmonization and coordination of the development of "various spheres of social life, various regions and areas of the country," and at the same time, of "unhampered development not only of the particular local conditions but also of local spontaneous actions, local initiative, diversity of ways, means and methods leading to a common goal."

Therefore, these authorities must, on one hand, be given indisputable full powers so that they can give instructions and set uniform principles of activity for all organizations and all people gathered within the party. On the other hand, it is indispensable that there be agreement among all members who are subordinated to a homogeneous leadership in carrying out instructions and in their subordination to the directives of the central party authority.

Centralism, that is /unity of party action and unitization of its leadership are possible only under the condition that there be democracy within the party,/ whose essence, in Leninistic understanding, depends on a uniform opportunity for all members of the party to formulate the party's program and its general line, and by decisionmaking by each element of the party's structure within the framework of the scope of its activity.

--a uniform opportunity for all members of the party to participate in the formation and recall of their own party organizational authorities (from the basic party organization to the authorities of the entire party), and to control, participate in and influence the directions of party activity;

--a possibility to undertake by party members and party organizations--from the basic to voivodship (within the framework of autonomy of local organizations)--of active and independent actions aimed at activation of the general party line.

/In a Leninistic type party, the democratic rights of party members and party organizations must be institutionally guaranteed by a set of norms of party statutes./ The essence of Leninism in matters of internal party democracy does not depend solely on formulation of formal statutory guarantees. It is, above all, a matter of conscious creation of a situation in which the possibility of equality has been created based on democratic principles and institutions, where the activity of party members is transformed into reality, and it results in true unity. It is also a matter of consciously overcoming obstacles which would delay the process of activization of party members within the democratic system. A fundamental role is played here by the ideological atmosphere in the party, a factor so decisive that it is the motivation of communists--people who direct their own actions and judge the actions of others through a system of values which are contained in the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

Primitive or, at the very least, naive are some conceptions suffered by some people concerning direct democracy in the party, sometimes called integral democracy. According to its adherents, it is based on the fact that all people directly decide on all things, that every party decision demands a general plebiscite of all party members, and that an unhampered freedom of action and conviction relative to the so-called public good must be a basic instrument to liberate initiative and activity among all party members.

Democratic centralism demands a uniform action by all persons united within the party and in all questions which pertain to a party unifying function. /There is a place in the party only for those who consent to act in the spirit of obligatory party principles./ The party must always act as a unified force. The expression of that unity should always be the total activity of all party elements. Thus, maximum activeness simultaneously with high discipline of all members in relation to those party decisions which were made in a statutory manner, in conformance with ideology, will render in the truest sense those Leninist principles which are described as democratic centralism.

The source of this discipline should always be, according to V. Lenin: "First, an indoctrination of the proletarian avant-garde and their faithfulness to the revolution, their fortitude in self-denial, their heroism. Second, their ability to approach, contact, and, one may say to a certain degree to melt with the widest masses of working people, above all with the proletarian masses, but also with the nonproletarian working masses. Third, the correctness of the political leadership and its realization through the avant-garde. The correctness of its strategy and political tactics, with the stipulation that the widest masses become convinced of their correctness through their own experience."

In every situation V. Lenin declared for maintenance and development of the democratic principles of party life, however, despite that he never made them absolute. He strongly underlined that /internal party democracy, and in general all democarcy always has to be viewed from the point of view of its responsibility toward the working class,/ to be used as an activating and discipline element of the party. Otherwise, the demand for democracy will become an empty phrase and pure demagogy.

The purpose of the party's existence is consolidation of the achievements of the socialist revolution, everything within the party must be subordinated to this goal. And it is toward the achievement of this goal that the democratic centralism is indispensable. It is not, however, a goal in itself. Similarly, the party is only a means toward a socialist goal. Therefore, in every case when a collision occurs between the revolutionary goals which are served by the principles of party organization and the substance which we attempt to put in these principles, the conflict should be resolved without fail in favor of the revolutionary goals, "because", as V. Lenin wrote, "formal democracy should be subordinated to revolutionary purposefulness."

Therefore, democratic principles cannot serve, within the party, to formulate ideas which are contrary to the revolutionary aims. The limits, which cannot be exceeded, are always indicated by revolutionary purposefulness. /Thus, according to V. Lenin, all the organizational principles and party structure make sense only if they lead to the realization of socialist revolutionary goals./ This is the most profound sense of the entire Leninistic party concept which expresses itself in a principle of primacy of function and goals over its organization.

At the same time, V. Lenin has warned that one of the greatest dangers facing the party--which eventually was confirmed in reality--is the potential and also real danger of the bureaucratic creations of democratic centralism. A victory of centralistic tendencies and a decay of democracy in the party, will, in the final reckoning, lead to a paralysis of the will to think and act by the member masses, and the entire party is so sentenced to be served by a blind and mechanical discipline, to loss of ideological motivation and impulses which are always a natural stimulus of party activity and unity.

Is it unavoidable that democratic centralism--as some people believe--must always be transformed into a bureaucratic type centralism which decimates and even destroys democracy in the party?

The principle of a centralistic construction of the party is not by its very nature an antithesis of its democratic structure. Under the conditions of active participation of party members in cocreation of party politics, under the conditions of collective decisions of all elements of the party, /centralism and democracy are dialectic one./ If these conditions are met, if the party always remains a team of active and mature member masses, and party organizations which are alive, full of independence and initiative, then the contrast between centralism and democracy will become less apparent. At that time, the danger of a bureaucratic distortion of democratic centralism can be pushed aside in plenty of time and with speed.

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## ROLE OF PARTY APPARATUS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 2, 1981 pp 3-5

[Article by Prof Dr Habilitatus Edward Erazmus, head of the Department of Party and Socialist State Theory at the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), and author of many papers in this field: "The Role of the Party Apparatus"--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The party apparatus is one of the factors in the leading role of the party, as an organizer of progressive social forces around the implementation of Marxist principles and in the directions of party policy. Therefore, /a reflection on the place and role of the party apparatus is indispensable, so that we may see it within the structure of the entire party, as well as in the context of the current realities of political life./

It is worthwhile mentioning that our knowledge regarding the relations between the party and the party apparatus is scarce. It is only in the light of recent events that we have seen clearly the extent of the consequences of a lack of division of jurisdiction within the party and a disregard for the effects of direct administration. Because of that, there is a necessity to focus attention on the entire party and on the structural condition of the implementation of the party's leading role. They exert an overpowering influence on relations between the party and the society, on relations between the party and the developing social self-government and those between the party and the state apparatus. Currently, this is a problem of great significance.

Of particular interest was, and still is:

/The Place of the Party Apparatus in the State/

During a general course of discussion, the main direction of criticism was, and is, being directed at the party apparatus, to which one attributes a tendency to supplant the state apparatus, to solve social problems by administrative methods and to adapt organizational structures to the ministerial structures of state administration. A phenomenon of ossification of other political structures is connected with the apparatus. The accusation of bureaucracy of apparatus is not without foundation, nor is the tendency to focus attention on vertical structures at the expense of the Basic Party Organization (POP), and to interfere with the system of directing social progress and with the party. In a crisis situation those claims grow and are exaggerated.

From surveys and observations, it becomes apparent that the apparatus, oriented along vertical structures, draws attention to that which occurs at the top. As a result, the horizontal ties between party organizations are interrupted. Such a model pulverizes the party. Therefore, in an academic reflection of the leading role of the party one cannot omit the question: /It is the party apparatus a "starter" for the party, its principal "architecture," or an important executive element of the entire party?/

This is not a rhetorical question and the historical tradition provides different answers.

If we fall back on historical tradition--and we cannot disregard historical context--it becomes apparent that it was J. Stalin who exerted influence for a strong position for the party apparatus within the party. This was confirmed in his dispute with the representatives of the opposing bloc composed of Trotskyists and the followers of Kamenlev and Zinoviev. They had criticized--through they exaggerated--the growing role of the party apparatus as compared to the ranks of the entire party and to the elements resulting from elections. They had warned of domination of executive and legislative elements by the makers of resolutions.

Without going into detail about the particulars of the course of the discussion, I would like to share the following observations: Stalin's reply was unilateral. He rejected the remarks solely because they originated from an improper source. Stalin accused the opposition of making a confrontation between the masses and the party apparatus and that "they intended to limit the leading role of the party apparatus and to reduce it further to (...) a function of a registrar and a propagandist," rather than making the party apparatus into a structure which transmits all party decisions and which supports the leadership system.

Aiming at solidification of the party apparatus' position within the party, he made absolute a thesis that "the party apparatus and party masses are one indivisible unity that the party apparatus (Central Committee and Central Qualification Commission, district party organizations, committees of provincial, rayon and powiat, cell executives, etc.) are the personification of the leading element of the party as a whole. That the party apparatus encompasses the best elements from the proletariat which can and should be criticized for mistakes, can and should be rejuventated, but which cannot be blackened without exposing the party to decay and ruin."

Without weakening the stipulation that the party apparatus is an important architectural element of the party, and while agreeing with the thesis that the purpose of a total criticism of the party apparatus may represent an attempt at dismantling it and thus cause a weakening of party unity, it is worthwhile to mention that a total line of defense would be equally dangerous. It has made, and continues to make, it difficult to formulate a positive program. Stalin, arguing with the opposition, was not tempted to put to test the reflections relative to the meaning of the text of resolutions, although some of them had originated from within the party and some were made by nonparty people.

Ever since that time there was a question behind the theoretical discussion:

/Can There Be a Clash/

/Between the echelons and the party apparatus, on one hand, and, on the other hand, between them and the party organizations, which would result in a loss of party leadership links with the party proper?/ Left out of the discussion was the question of a danger of fusion of the party apparatus with the state apparatus and of the leading cadres of the party apparatus with the resolutionmaking, evaluating and controlling organs of the party. As a result, the distinctions between the executive and the elective links would begin to disappear. The consequences are that the limits of responsibility become obliterated between those who have to vote on the program, evaluate it and control it and those elements which should organize the system of evaluation, control, etc.

/In the PZPR, which was constructed along the lines of democratic centralism, two tendencies are emerging: centralism and democracy,/ in which the first one is being accompanied by a development of party apparatus cells and an increase in the number of full-time employees. Thus, for example, until mid-1957, the local party apparatus employed about 16,000 people. In 1958, the number of employees was reduced by about 44 percent, leaving about 8,000. The structure of the central committees of voivodship committees paralleled the centralistic tendencies and became an equivalent to the structure of state administration.

/A consequence of the strengthening of outmoded structures always appears to be a replacement of state organs by the party organs, principally of the administrative and executive elements of public organizations./ In the existing departments, one could observe formation of even smaller cells of specialized nature, their structure: in turn, became similiar to the internal ministerial structure: they became equivalents of directorates. At the same time, the role of commissions, issues teams and, in particular, party organizations became diminished. If the commissions were not liquidated then their role was limited to an opinion-giving function, often bordering on the rights and privileges of a discussion club or a consulting team. They passed opinions on drafts of decisions or resolutions, most often prepared within departments or sectors. From the structure of the party apparatus and party echelons, various elements were formed (commissions, teams) which concentrated their attention not only on segments of national life but rather on the total public life of villages, towns, the party.

Centralization in the party took the shape of an increased participation of the party apparatus workers in creation of delegates for powiat or voivodship conferences or party congresses.

/The composition of party authorities elected in 1965, was as follows: workers of powiat committees (KP), city committees (KM) and city section committees (KD) comprised 17 percent; Peasants, 11 percent; white collar workers, 67 percent. In subsequent years, these proportions barely changed, this trend lasting well into the sixties and seventies. The participation of workers employed by the party apparatus became reduced down to 8 percent./

The second tendency is based on an assumption that within the party the fundamental role is played by the echelons and party organizations, and that the members grouped in POP may, and should, decide together about the entire range of party policy. The

apparatus--according to this tendency--must awaken the initiative and coordinate the activity of those members who hold important state functions. This process was to be accompanied, and this occurred only in part, by changes in the structure of party committees. Their numbers were to be reduced. Instead, departments with a wide scope of activities were created although they possessed a coordinating and executive character in relation to party echelons and organizations. Most often these were the organizational, propaganda, economics or general departments. The place of specific, functional and coordinated (with the appropriate ministry) departments was being taken by commissions composed of party activists who held much power. Being advisory organs, opinion-giving departments and echelons, they acted as permanent components of the decisionmaking process who solved basic problems. These commissions were called to life by the local elected echelons, central committees, political bureaus or secretariats. In addition to the structural character, also defined was the basis for activity of the appartus workers. They were to tie in strongly with the life and activity of the party on the basic level through mandatory membership in work plants POP.

In this second course of reflections and practice /the apparatus was treated as an

Instrument of Construction of the Powers of the Party

and not as a basic component of its power./ It has been assumed that it will make an effective instrument of the party only when the applied forms and methods of work are approved by the basic party elements, POP, and party members. Coupled with this were the results of the activity aimed at strengthening of party unity and party links with the workers. The party apparatus was being reorganized for its high ideological, political, organizational and moral demands. A conviction was nurtured--partially correctly--that it forms a fundamental element in the system of party instruments, a deciding element in matters for unity and links with the working class.

One cannot help but to notice that the /PZPR saw the danger of an isolation of the apparatus from the control of elected party organs./ Several times attempts were made to determine its role and place within the system of fundamental elements of the PZPR. In 1954, the apparatus was to fulfill a role of "a helper to party echelons to link party elements with local organizations." (Resolution of the third plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, 1954)

However, the situation has not changed. In 1956, the phenomenon of bureaucracy in the party was noted again. At that time, it was confirmed that if the party echelons and organizations,and above all the party apparatus, transformed themselves into a supercontrolling, governing body and merged with the state and economic apparatus it would without fail lead to depolitization of party work, to party bureaucratization, a numerical increase in the party apparatus and creation of an ever-increasing number of cells of that apparatus, which additionally would duplicate the structure of the state apparatus. Such a state of affairs causes the respective cells of the party, particularly the party apparatus to occupy themselves with problems of ministries, enterprises and administrative organs, consequently taking overall responsiblity for all actions which occur therein. This in turn influences the criteria for choice of cadres and the role of the POP.

Likewise during the Sixth PZPR Congress thought was given to the phenomenon of how was it possible that despite resolutions

/The Phenomenon of Duplication/

keeps on happening. However, prior to 1970, there was a lack of deliberations as to cause of such phenomena. On the contrary, it was stated that "gradually in the party, there is a strenghtening of the position of party authorities elected at the congress, at conferences meetings and of their superior, control role relative to the executive body, the secretariat and the party apparatus. A lot has been accomplished since then to return to the functioning of the principle which states that all party organs are responsibly accountable to their echelons and systematically submit to them reports of their activity (Seventh PZPR Congress).

These words confirm the fact that actually to this day these stipulations are accepted as an accomplished fact, although they do not reflect the status quo. /This has made it difficult, even impossible, to conduct investigations and barred the way to those who intended to reform the structure and change the dependence between the party apparatus and the remaining party elements./ It was not feasible to realize the principle of separation of leadership functions of the party apparatus from the state apparatus, or the principle of division of tasks between the party and the state--despite their full acceptance in theory. From this theory results /a need to separate the activities of the party apparatus from that of the state, and in particular of the party apparatus and the apparatus of state administration./ In that sphere there is always a great deal of deviation.

In concluding this segment of reflections, it is impossible to omit one remark:

In the party apparatus there is a continuous rebirth of tendencies to resign from the inspirational and controlling functions in favor of taking part in direct (and often performed by one person) interference with the decisionmaking or executive processes of the administration. Of course, this is not a purely subjective question, such activities are equally facilitated by the formal structures.

/Recent events strongly demand resolution of the question: How to oppose and prevent separation of the apparatus from the party, a consequence of which, among others, is the party's loss of public trust?/ Regardless of how difficult it is to answer this pressing question without ambiguity, one may, based on investigation of rightfulness of manifestations accompanying the events of 1956, 1970 and 1980, put forth at least two stipulations.

There is a need for preparation and implementation of

/Principles and forms of Cadre Policy/

They would regulate a procedure of selection of cadres for work in the party apparatus (for example, such selection criteria as professional experience, party work experience, experience in state elective positions, functions in Department Organizations, POP). Also needed are principles of work in the party apparatus to include rights and obligations, criteria for advancement of party apparatus workers and of placement in positions based on elections to executive, city, viovodship and central committees. As it pertains to the latter, there grows a real need for a distinct definition of limits for number of apparatus workers in the elective organs, the executives, the plenum and in the Central Committee.

/It is indispensable that the principles governing job changes be prepared./ Those cannot predominatly be to higher positions. It is better to have a mechanism which would scare away from party apparatus work those people who treat it as a stepping stone for enhancement of their own careers, rather than to have a mechanism which would permit the making of a career. /This is a question of a mechanism which attracts to work authentic activists, who desire and are able to maintain steady and direct contact with the party organization./

It is certain that the activities which were brought to light here cannot be favored by the institutional style of work of the apparatus or by a fossilized, stiff, vertical organizational structure or by bureaucratic habits. In practice there is a difficult, requirement, though one sanctioned by theory, that a prerequisite of successful leadership is not a formal authority which is institutionalized, individualistic, secured and controlled by regulations and the state. It is rather an ideal attitude or professional authority, documented by competence and management capabilities. Meanwhile, a charismatic authority is still more valued than an authority based on the people's trust. This is not a matter of a marginal model. It is worth a thought, however, how and by which factors we intend to rebuild using self-regulating instruments, and with what we will balance the shortages when we go about selecting and supporting people.

We do not know what type of structure must exist between the people who work in the party apparatus and those in the hierarchial framework. /What is the concrete context of the political roles earmarked for the workers of the party apparatus?/ If those are in accord with their expectations and within the principles of socialistic social relations then they will accept work under these conditions. Since they are subordinates they can count on being treated in accordance with the Marxist ethical norm, therefore their position is correct. Because they themselves are participating in creating and popularizing the socialist behavior norms.

In practice, however, other aspects are present which often depart from the norm. Conditions normally arrange themselves on the principle of unilateral subordination. Such a state of affairs creates conflict conditions. On the one hand, when one does not obey principles, appropriate sanctions are applied, however, if the matter is not treated seriously there remains a suspicion of a lack of capability to adapt. In addition, a reward for observance of ideological and political norms is a rare occurrence. Such activities produce negative results. Instead of learning in practice how to act properly, the young workers seek a key which will unlock the way to manipulate the principles, goals and forms.

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PRIORITIES IN SCHOOL, VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian No 1, Jan 81 pp 3-5

/Article by Iosif Tripsa, state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction/

/Text/ In the new decade we have started, which the 12th RCP Congress defined as the decade of a new quality in all economic activity, of intensive promotion of the technical-scientific revolution, of labor productivity and the most careful management of material and financial resources, the Romanian high schools have greater responsibilities for providing all their graduates with an education of great occupational competence and broad scientific scope, for they are the future workers who will carry on the activity until the second decade of the next century.

The extent of those responsibilities is well understood by the teaching personnel and head instructors in high schools, who are trying to secure the high standard of occupational competence demanded by present and future production technologies through the whole process of instruction and education and particularly through productive experience. In this connection we must consider some of the problems actually confronting us in this period, and especially the fact that knowledge of the future fields in which the pupils of today will work has greatly increased and we can accurately envisage the future sectors of the national economy in their evolution as well as all the social-political and cultural-scientific activities in the next decade. In all this we benefit by the RCP's huge effort toward scientific management of Romanian society that is manifested in the RCP Program and in the directives and programs ratified by the 12th RCP Congress.

Now that the future is taking a definite form, I feel we need a much better correlation of high-school preparation of our future workers with the actual manpower requirements. I refer not only to a correlation on the national scale but particularly to one in every county and community, and this means specific consideration of the real possibilities of employing all the pupils in production and social activity, present and future, and not only those in the final grades of high school but also those who have not yet completed their gymnasium courses.

The high-school teachers are expected to make a telling contribution to the scholastic and vocational orientation of the eighth-grade pupils in order to inspire them with the desire to acquire the trades strictly essential to a harmonious development of the national economy as a whole, of all areas of Romania, and of all counties and communities. Therefore we can make a close correlation from the start of high school

between the number of pupils admitted for each particular qualification and trade and the actual requirement for personnel in the community served by the high school. Furthermore, we can make such a correlation between the training of every pupil in the final grades (10th and 12th) and the manpower requirement of the community wherein we are operating. Therefore I think we can organize our work so as to train personnel for all categories and levels essential to the enterprises (on the basis of agreements or contracts with the enterprises and especially with the enterprise that supervises the high school) and also to heighten the enterprises' interest both in concluding contracts and agreements with the high schools and in providing every graduate with a job in the community where he studied or in his home community.

It is our duty to carry out the tasks assigned by the higher party and state administrations in this field, in the knowledge that all these tasks also apply to the enterprises we contact. Therefore a sustained effort must be made beginning in the second quarter to contact the enterprises and to conclude such contracts or agreements. And finally, toward the end of the second quarter we must find a job for every pupil in the final grades, so that the 12th grade will have productive experience on their future jobs in the third quarter at least and the future graduates in the 10th grade will know in the third quarter where they will work when they are integrated in production. Let us try to provide both categories of graduates with competent guides on the job with the help of the enterprises and of the public and youth organizations in these enterprises. Let us also make pupils love work in this way, let us help them to become integrated in production, and let us start programs like "Friends of the New Employee." I think such measures, which were instituted several years ago in many enterprises and have shown good results there, can solve all problems of our future graduates' integration in production and public activity. It is noteworthy that these methods were applied in 1980 in counties like Arad, Vilcea, Braila, Buzau and Ialomita. I would also like to point out that in 1980 the enterprises in several ministries maintained a good relationship with the educational units, adequate scholastic and vocational orientation, and finally a good assignment of the graduates to production. They were enterprises in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Electric Power and the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials as well as cooperatives in UCECOM /Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives/.

An important contribution to scholastic and vocational orientation is to be made by all educational elements in high schools, beginning with the directors and deputy directors who are required to organize the whole activity and control its performance by the masters, professors and head instructors with both the pupils and their parents. After a specific program has been planned allowing for each and every pupil in the final grades and the other pupils in the lower grades, it is absolutely necessary to definitely determine the activities to be performed. I refer in particular to clarification of the question for what qualifications and trades are we to prepare our pupils. In the next period we must emphasize the qualifications and trades that directly contribute to growth of the national wealth. We must guide our present and future pupils' choices toward some trades such as those in mining, petroleum, geology, metallurgy, construction, machine building (especially in the heat sector), chemistry and agricultural mechanization so that the scholarship plan will be completely fulfilled in these qualifications and trades.

This requires not only an effort to inform the pupils and parents but also a regular effort to improve the process of education and instruction and to raise the standard

of the pupils' instruction in the high schools with such curricula. That is the only way the prestige of these high schools will be appreciably enhanced and a steadily growing influx of applicants to these high schools will be created.

The collaborating enterprises must be involved in scholastic and vocational orientation to a greater extent. The competent ministries have assigned their personnel the task of participating in this orientation so that they can recruit more of their manpower from the ranks of the high-school graduates and depend less upon forms of on-the-job qualification. The enterprise directors and the shop chiefs, engineers and foremen in production are required to collaborate with the teachers by also helping to explain the various questions asked by youths when they choose their future occupation. But they are expected to contribute more than they do now to proper organization of the practical activities in enterprises and to better organization of the jobs in which our pupils, the future graduates, acquire their experience and learn their trades, and also to their stabilization before the period of apprenticeship.

Work with the parents is also of vital importance. Therefore with the aid of the parents' civic committees we must organize more activities for the scholastic and vocational orientation of children. We must first combat some parents' wrong but very widespread attitude that while they worked hard under difficult conditions, they must find so-called "easy jobs" and soft positions for their sons, through bureaus if possible, where they will shuffle some papers and still earn very good pay. The attitude is most harmful and often makes youths real social parasites shirking work. It is clear that such parents are actually the enemies of their own children.

We must all realize that scholastic and vocational orientation is very effective if the parents support the educational elements in high schools and enterprises and work to the same end. For this purpose every parent must understand that most often the best trade for their child is the one he has. We must heighten interest in and develop the idea of creating workers dynasties, that is transmitting the trade from father to son and maintaining job stability and continuity. Of course that does not mean the son will repeat mechanically what his parent did in the past. Every trade has an evolution thanks to scientific-technical advances and intensification of mechanization and automation and of robotization and cybernation in the future. The technological processes are different, and the working and living conditions have radically changed.

To be sure in scholastic and vocational orientation we must often refer to scientific-technical advances, and therefore we must use such terms as mechanization, automation, robotization and cybernation. Nevertheless we must interpret the true nature of the mechanization and automation processes in the coming years. Let us not give our present pupils the false impression that in the future the work we shall do will be confined to pressing buttons and that everything will proceed in an idealized, perfect fashion. Actually every one of us, in production, in school and at home, must perform the entire activity assigned each of us, both what we find interesting and what we find less interesting. Therefore we must educate and teach our pupils to perform all the operations in the work process, both the pleasant and easy ones and the less pleasant or more difficult ones. We must convince them that heroism at work is proved especially when we are confronted with unforeseen situations where a worker must perform difficult operations beyond normal activity and under difficult conditions.

At the same time we must point out that pupils often receive a false impression when we inadequately explain the importance of electronics or cybernetics to present and future production. Sometimes the words take on a connotation far beyond their real significance and bring about a one-sided orientation, of the best pupils unfortunately, who think their place must be where the most progress in the national economy is made and, without sufficient discrimination, they rush in greater numbers than necessary into sectors such as those in the field of electronics or automation. We must tell these pupils that in the electrotechnical, electronics or automation industries and in the future factories for robots and cybernetic equipment the work is usually done on a conveyor belt more or less as it is done in the garment industry for example. This work consists of assembling electronic elements and components, mounting them in circuits and mounting those circuits in devices. Therefore the work in these sectors is that of assembling electronic or cybernetic devices and robots in series. It is not in these sectors that the individual uses all the immense power that modern science and technology, electronics, cybernetics and robotics have made available to mankind. This enormous power is used in the basic sectors of the national economy: in mining, where complexes of machines and equipment directed by electronic means are already operating now, or in metallurgy and machine building, where the use of electronics, cybernetics and industrial robots has made that activity far different today from what it was in the recent past, let us say 10 years ago. Here in these sectors new and effective units have been introduced that are hundreds of times more powerful than those of the past and here they can be directed only by means of the latest, highly perfected electronic and cybernetic equipment. Here the first industrial robots are in operation, and here a very great number of robots will be at work in a not too distant future.

It is more than clear that we do not need many qualified personnel to assemble the devices our electronics industry is producing. Man created the great power of electronics and powerful, intelligent and efficient robots to resolve the basic problems of his existence. And these problems will exist for many more years to come, perhaps for whole centuries, in the field of securing energy sources (namely mining and petroleum exploitation), in the field of providing housing and buildings of any kind (namely construction), in the field of providing the materials used in industry and households (namely metallurgy, machine building and chemistry), in the field of providing food (namely mechanized and intensive agriculture), etc.

In other words, the activity of scholastic and vocational orientation is in growing need of more thorough knowledge and more intensive assimilation of the party and state documents as well as correct interpretation of all the advances made by science and technology. For any teacher, the main guiding ideas in the field of scholastic and vocational orientation are to be found in the RCP Program and in the party's directives and outline programs concerning the long-range development of the national economy and of Romanian society in general. By acting in their spirit we fulfill a supreme obligation.

APTITUDES ALONE NO GUIDE FOR EDUCATIONAL, VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian No 1, Jan 81 pp 13-14

[Article by Dr Romeo Dascalescu: "Scholastic and Vocational Orientation Based Solely on Aptitudes Is Outmoded"]

[Text] The choices of a school and of an occupation have come to the same thing under the conditions of Romanian high-school education and trade schools diversified as to types, qualifications and trades, and they place the equation of the individual's relationship to society in a new light.

The individual, in this case the pupil who has advanced to the eighth grade, and the family that is often inciting him approach the hour of choices and especially the moment of final decision with a heavy load of ambitions and (at times) prejudices and with impressions both right and (possibly) wrong of himself and of the occupation he wants. By this time advice is too late, outside intervention is ineffective, and the threat of the foreseen failure (when it is foreseen) is disregarded. It is difficult to reduce this fortress of vague hopes devoid of any attempt to consider that every individual must write through his own trouble the text of an error that has figured for many generations in the repertoire of each generation.

We refer of course to the category of pupils who do not know how to evaluate and choose a path in life in keeping with their capacities, the protagonists of scholastic and vocational orientation who, when they are advised counter to their own decision, cling to aptitudes as to a tree with roots too loose in the soil at the time.

A boy draws beautifully (How many children do not draw beautifully!), and he or his parents or both he and his parents can envisage nothing but the art high school. A girl who in her childhood broke all her dolls by giving them injections now looks well (is beautiful!) in a white gown and can see no doors other than that of the medical high school, although she becomes nauseated and dizzy if you mention bedpans and bleeding wounds to her. What shall we say of parents who feel downgraded in the social hierarchy if their child does not go to the high school of mathematics and physics! The parents argue, "He has aptitudes!" (If you ask them what they are they begin to perspire) and the subjects of the discussion furiously cry "I want to!" and nothing but "I want to!" as at the time when they obtained chocolate or cinema money by crying "I want it" and stamping their feet.

Society comes and confronts all youths of this category with rigors of its own, youths who are not necessarily just as I have described them but who have an attitude of rejection of the rational and friendly advice of those outside the barrier they have erected between themselves and reality. Society comes and precisely measures by longitude and latitude the limits of the youths' aspirations and the possibility of fulfilling them.

Society appears brusquely in working clothes and not dressed for an operetta, confronting the youths honestly with what we all call (and we all consider and must consider) the plan for Romania's socioeconomic development on the national and regional levels, the manpower requirement and the scholarships plan it determines for educational units, qualifications and trades.

Actually the figures that substantiate the manpower requirement and the scholarships plan in high-school education and trade schools also reflect possibilities for or restrictions on the pupils' scholastic and vocational choices. They reflect society's capacity to absorb manpower and the present and long-range manpower requirement.

The arithmetic of these realities and needs of society is not the same in all occupations as that with which the pupils and parents have reckoned their aptitudes. The situation becomes tragic when the number of those who have aptitudes stamped on their foreheads and confine their personalities to those stamps alone is greater than the number society can assimilate for its developmental needs. If we tried to define society we would readily discover the conflict these youths are starting with themselves (when the "aptitude" with which they are stamped by their parents vanishes with the first sweat on their foreheads), with the many others who bear the same stamp, and with society, which has proved more precise in calculating and forecasting.

The aptitude responsible for misleading such youths is nevertheless a reality that has its existence, development, degree and possibilities of confirmation. It coexists in a constellation, that is in a plural, in the structure of the personality of each and every one of us. In its present existence, the aptitude has more or less relevant forms and possibilities of confirmation. In its development it is provided with directions and cardinal points by the formative effect of instruction and education and by what we are pleased to call all-around development of the personality.

Aptitudes (In reference to a person, "aptitude" in the singular is correct grammatically but not psychologically!) do not constitute a prejudice. But they can be and sometimes are subject to the prejudice that the pupils' scholastic and vocational orientation is to be effected solely in relation to them. I emphasize solely in relation to aptitudes because when one thinks, writes and reads "also in relation to aptitudes" everything is correct.

Some confusion has been created about scholastic and vocational orientation that has had a direct effect upon the performance of that activity. It is a rather old story going back to the time when vocational orientation was multiplied and became scholastic too. When the offices of vocational orientation were changed to scholastic offices of orientation, the change was accompanied by bags full of psychotechnical props (tests, apparatus, a way of approaching the subjects) with which some are still burdened.

Vocational orientation, through the intermediary of and with psychotechnical "technologies," is a vocational selection for youths who were looking for a path in life

after schools (or without schools), since the diplomas the schools gave them were not automatically convertible to an assured livelihood. Youths came to the orientation laboratory (or office) hoping that discovery of their aptitudes would open doors for them that remained locked for many under the conditions of capitalist competition.

When orientation became "scholastic" too, it was moved to the theoretical high schools of the time, whose pupils' education was far removed from the world of trades and industrial experience. For them, in their ignorance of a world for which psychotechnology was made, the tests to which they were subjected were original and even necessary. When you had never seen a lathe, a cutter or a planing machine in your life and when the plant does not occur in your experience or future aspirations, certainly the technical aptitude tests had something to say about the youths' vocational future. (I am considering the problem solely from the standpoint of the necessities of scholastic and vocational orientation and not from that of study of the personality for other purposes.)

What has been changed since then? The high schools have been differentiated according to occupations, education has been integrated with production and research, and the pupils now carry screwdrivers with their fountain pens and have acquired experience in production and industry. Education has also reorganized its objectives, which are attained by work and for work. The graduates are assigned to production. They carry qualification certificates in their pockets as well as diplomas. Their opportunity to show their aptitudes in their entirety and generality as well as in their specialized forms is impressive. The national economy counts over 7,500 occupations, including over 1,500 trades and about 1,000 professions. The titles of several hundred of these include the word "chief." Can anyone say he cannot find his place in this quantitative and qualitative summation?

What is no longer suitable in the practice of scholastic and vocational orientation today compared with yesterday? Seeking an occupational outlet through testing aptitudes on the presumed grounds of their manifestation, when they are confirmed and modeled by the creative and productive work performed by pupils throughout their schooling. Evaluation of the pupil outside the work process in which he is engaged has become a gratuitous act, insufficient both in educational practice and in scholastic and vocational orientation.

What has newly appeared? The educational process of modeling the young personality to meet the demands of social production, science and culture, coordination of the two members of the individual-society equation, and long-range formation of the youths' real attitudes, in the knowledge that (a) Aptitude does not always mean a trade and (b) No aptitude has yet been discovered to be a counterindication of useful social labor.

Not to experience this real gamut of the many possibilities for every youth to fulfill his vocation and aspirations through schooling, qualification, integration in productive work, people's art schools, amateur art and any other opportunities for developing the personality is to enter a realm of fundamental negation and social maladjustment.

And so let us remember that we are not overlooking aptitudes in scholastic and vocational orientation. On the contrary, we are creating one of the broadest social opportunities for them through the educational process but not making a fetish of them as some are inclined to go on doing.

5186
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## CATHOLIC PAPER DEFENDS CHURCH POSITION AGAINST CRITICS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Whose Interests Does This Serve?"]

[Text] It is difficult at this point to judge how far the escalation of attacks will go on the archbishop of Zagreb and all those who together with him are honoring the memory of the late cardinal. If one is to be able to predict that, one must first know whose interests are being served by this campaign and what was the real reason for it, and it is not advisable--if our idea is right--to analyze that. It is true that this public debate was not initiated by the archbishop of Zagreb nor by any responsible person in the church, that all the relevant features and articles from the church side have appeared only after the well-known attack of Jakov Blazevic had been published in the large-circulation daily and weekly papers of almost all the capitals of the republics and provinces in Yugoslavia. Is it possible that that author and all those who have flooded the entire public by reiterating his statement did not foresee that the largest annual assembly of Catholic priests, the Theological and Pastoral Week for Priests, would be held immediately thereafter in Zagreb and that on 10 February the traditional commemoration of the date of the cardinal's death would be held. If those responsible for initiating the campaign we are referring to foresaw those two unavoidable occasions for the church to answer them in concert, then it seems that they achieved what they wished. Yet it is difficult to understand why it served them to offer practically all Catholics in the country, and not just the church of the Croats, as well as all our bishops, priests, believers and sympathizers an occasion to agree on a commemoration which is obviously much more than that. It is a sad thing when the authors of numerous articles in various newspapers repeat as if by agreement that this view is held only by a thin stratum and portion of the hierarchy. Yet the fact is that there is neither a bishop nor a priest nor a religious person who is involved who is against the archbishop of Zagreb on this matter or, to put it better, who would wish to take a position different from his on this matter. In our church, in the hierarchy, among those in the holy orders, among the diocesan priests, among the theologians and laymen there actually are various strains and ferment, some of it painful, but one of the values they hold in common and on which they can all agree has emerged in recent days.

If the initiators of the campaign foresaw this, what were they aiming at and why are they doing their best now not to see that fact? Yet if they wanted something else, why are they continuing on that path which was wrongly plotted?

Maintaining a custom that has held for years, GLAS KONCILA did not publish the text of the sermon by Archbishop Franjo Kuharic at the cardinal's grave on 10 February. That text, as in past years, has been left in documentation with a small circulation. Yet now the review START is publishing the most significant portions of that address for the large-circulation public, though out of the context of the entire sermon. Is that not a challenge to the large-circulation periodicals of the church to publish it in its entirety after all? And what is foreseen after that or overlooked?

In NIN of Belgrade Jug Grizely wrote an article entitled "Who Is Putting the Strain on Relations." It is a proper question. The church does not wish escalation. Anyone who is at all familiar with its methods and positions knows that it does not renounce its saints nor its distinguished figures, but he also knows that it is usually not in a hurry and knows how to wait. Was this really the right moment for us to clear up the question of the commemoration of Cardinal Alojzij Stepinac once and for? Or perhaps someone would actually like to divert attention from certain other current events?

It is unpleasant to call call attention to untruths, but we are compelled to do so. For example, it is not even true that any of the responsible people in the church have now sought judicial rehabilitation of the late cardinal. Nor is there truth in a good portion of what Sime Pierotti asserts in the VJESNIK supplement SEDAM DANA on Saturday, 28 February. He imputes to the editor in chief of GLAS KONCILA an article on the church tax in Germany which that editor never wrote. He invents some embittered protest by certain people concerned for the welfare of Croats abroad. He imputes to a citizen and priest who signs a public proposal submitted to the SFRY State Presidency subversive intentions.

There is no need to say anything about what BORBA wrote on 11 February in an article entitled "Between Conscience and Truth" other than this is a tasteless pamphlet unworthy of these times and that it really tries to return us to the situation unpleasantly denoted by the 1945 cartoon.

But the systematic falsehood exceeded all measure in NEDELJNA DALMACIJA on 1 March in Lilic's column under the heading "Visit" on page 11. In this connection we are authorized to inform the public that the RELAZIONI RELIGIOSE NEWS AGENCY in Rome, whose editor is a certain Antonio Jerkov, is not close to the Vatican in any respect. Without entering into the question of how it was established and financed, it is well known that this agency often attempts to rob the official secrets of various Vatican dicasteries by shady means and that its "news" is regularly distinguished by its sarcastic scorn for everything that is Croat and Catholic. What Miroslav Lilic passes on in his article from a bulletin issued by that agency is the best proof of deliberate malice. In it Jerkov, falsely presenting himself as a well-intentioned person familiar with Vatican intentions--at whose behest no one knows--tries to prevent or abuse in an unprecedented way the possible visit of the Holy Father to our country. Calling upon the pope to come and pray at Jasenovac, Jerkov says that the Serbian Orthodox Church was the "victim of the Croatian Catholic Church" during the war. We cannot put a question to those unknown persons who give orders to Jerkov, but we must be amazed that NEDELJNA DALMACIJA can pass on this obvious attempt to enflame ethnic and religious enmity. It really is not

possible to hold the Catholic Church to blame for any violence that occurred in the last war. Nor can such a charge be placed on the Croatian people. Portions of a specific group which had the power of government at a particular time were involved. It was a question of particular murderers and particular victims. Jerkov is obviously taking the road of clouding things over and magnifying things so as to keep the hatred alive with the vagueness of the guilt. By setting up such conditions for achievement of fraternity among the nationalities and ecumenical relations among the churches, Jerkov and all those who appeal to him and who act in that manner are really working against brotherhood and unity and against all ecumenism.

In the face of such a multitude of dangerous untruths which have been spread with such persistence, we can only speak the truth insofar as that is necessary, to keep from aggravating a conflict when we do not know who wishes it and who derives benefit from it, and persistently rely on common sense and on ... time.

Oh, yes, we have just learned that the periodical of a group of political emigres in Melbourne, HRVATSKI TJEDNIK--which has been issuing charges against Archbishop Kuharic for months--has again attacked GLAS KONCILA because of what it wrote about New Zealand. So, the circle is closing in far-off Australia. It is a small world after all--which makes it much easier to get one's bearings.

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## CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF DECLINE IN BIRTH RATE ARGUED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1160, 27 Jan 81 pp 22-25

[Interview with various population statisticians by Ognjen Janevski, photography by I. Sabo and M. Cekic]

[Text] It is projected that next year there will be 181,000 more Yugoslavs, but the statisticians warn that the birth rate is falling, and fewer children are being born than might be desirable. What are the causes and consequences? ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA discussed the matter with experts.

According to estimates of the Federal Statistical Office, Yugoslavia has 22,442,000 inhabitants. Last year that number grew by 181,000.

We are, however, becoming ever closer to more developed European countries that cannot brag about high population increases. The Yugoslav birth rate has been declining for many years, falling last year to 16.9 babies per 1,000 inhabitants. There are fewer marriages that produce two children.

The marked decline in the birth rate and all that may result from that in the future were the subjects for conversation at the ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA offices. The experts were Dr Ljubica Basta, an independent consultant to the Federal Institute for Health Protection; Marijeta Josic, chief of the group for natural and mechanical population control of the Federal Statistical Office; Nevenka Petric, president of the Family Planning Council of the Federal SAWPY Conference, Dr Petar Blahovic, an anthropologist and professor at the Philosophical School in Belgrade; Dr Dusan Breznik, director of the Demographic Research Center; Dr Miroslav Macura, a scientific worker in the Economic Institute; Dr Dragomir Mladenovic, director of the Gynecology and Obstetrics Clinic in Belgrade; Predrag Petrovski, and member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union League, and Dr Miroslav Rasevic, a scientific worker at the Economic Institute in Belgrade.

[Question] Just before the census, what is the estimate of the total population and the birth rate in the country?

[M. Josic] The Federal Statistical Office presents data on the population just before New Year's every year. They are prepared on the basis of the birth rate, mortality rate, natural population growth, the number of marriages and divorces, and childhood mortality.

[Question] The birth rate is declining. Is that decline increasing more rapidly than in earlier years?

[M. Josic] Here are some figures on live births: In 1978 the birth rate was 17.4 percent, in 1979 it was 17.2, and last year, 16.9 [Translator's note: The figure should be expressed in births per thousand, rather than in percent as it is here.] During the last decade a constant but gradual decline was noted, which was especially pronounced last year. Otherwise, the birth rate has averaged between 17 and 18 percent.

[Question] How long has this been happening?

[D. Breznik] Data have been collected for the longest time in Slovenia, so that we know the situation of 200 or 300 years ago. At the end of last century and the beginning of this one, a noticeable decline in the birth rate began in four parts of the country: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia proper and Vojvodina.

In the 1930's there were 35 live births per thousand inhabitants in Yugoslavia, while by 1980 there were only about 17. The death rate has also declined in a similar way, by nearly one-half. That means that the natural increase has changed, depending on birth and death rates, and today it amounts to about 8 per thousand. This trend was interrupted only twice, after World Wars I and II, when marriages increased. That is how it was from 1948 to 1953, but after that the birth rate declined most noticeably. In some regions the number of children born fell below two, and presently the average is 2.15.

In Vojvodina the number of live births per woman in 1970 was 1.69, while today it is 1.92. In Serbia at the beginning of the decade the number was 1.86, in 1977 it was 1.88, and now it is 1.83, the lowest in Yugoslavia. In Croatia the lowest rate came in 1970, at 1.79, while presently it is 1.92. In Bosnia and Hercegovina the number now is about 2, and in Macedonia it is more than 2. The highest rate is in Kosovo, at 4.66. Even there, however, the number has been declining since 1950, when it amounted to 7.7 children per woman.

In regions where the birth rate is low, the natural population growth is also low. The population is old and mortality has begun to increase. Data show that the population is not renewing itself in Croatia, Serbia proper or Vojvodina, and the situation is not entirely favorable in Bosnia and Hercegovina either. The society needs to do something for those areas where the birth rate is low and where it could continue to decline, although I think that it is very hard to raise it.

## A Standard Without Diapers

[Question] How does a rising standard of living affect the falling birth rate?

[D. Breznik] We know that a high birth rate is a characteristic of underdeveloped countries that have a low standard of living, although in some places the natural population growth has been slight due to high infant mortality.

In economically developed environments, with increased education the position of the woman in the family changes and new relationships are created, and subsequently fewer children are born. I believe, however, that with the creation of even better conditions, the birth rate will increase.

[Question] How do anthropologists explain the decline in population growth?

[P. Vlahovic] There is an imbalance in the distribution of the population. In one area we have nearly unpopulated districts, while in another area there is dense population with little space. That has a negative effect on the population. In hilly and mountainous regions, it is mainly the older people who remain. The population concentrates more in cities and suburban centers, and in industrial zones. All of these factors present difficulties for research....

[Question] How can that imbalance be overcome?

[P. Vlahovic] The society will have to attempt to see that the population is more equally distributed by regions, and that it be retained in the hilly and mountainous areas.

## Family Planning

[Question] How can the society influence family planning, or affect an increase in the birth rate?

[N. Petric] The very stress placed on human freedom as a basic right in the Yugoslav constitution and the republic and provincial constitutions require a social responsibility and measures to assure conditions that will bring the realization of that right.

In Yugoslavia, we cannot speak of pressures to reduce or increase the birth rate. We are a socialist self-management society and we strive to have people realize their constitutionally established human rights in family planning as elsewhere.

Every society that wants to increase its birth rate should undertake certain measures to bring a favorable solution to the housing problem, open more child care centers to enable both parents to seek employment, etc. All of that presupposes absolute human freedom to decide how many children one should have, or whether to have any at all.

[M. Rasevic] In Croatia, Serbia proper and Vojvodina, the population has been stable for more than 20 years, which is basically bad. It is not yet apparent, since there are quite a few older people, but with time the population will decrease.

It is never irrelevant to a country whether it has 4 million inhabitants more or less. On the one hand the population is slowly rising, while on the other it is rising very rapidly. That probably motivated the Yugoslav Assembly, in 1975, when it considered a document on the bases of joint policy and the conception for the country's long-term development. For the first time, a long-term population policy was adopted. It was agreed that measures should be taken to reduce the birth rate where it was high, and support population growth where it was exceptionally low. Unfortunately, although that resolution was adopted 5 or 6 years ago, nothing has yet been done.

I say, unfortunately, because such action involves a long process. Although today the demographic situation in the country does not cause concern, the results will emerge only after 3 or more decades, and therefore policies can have effects only if they are implemented on time. I think that is the moral and political obligation of this generation.

High-Rise Living

[Dr Dusan Breznik] We cannot avoid living in cities, but I believe, on the basis of my considerable collaboration with urbanists and the Belgrade Institute for Development Planning, that we can no longer build this type of settlements. A family with 3 children cannot live on the fifteenth floor. New residential areas cannot be merely space for sleeping, but rather they must have everything necessary for normal life. We know that a society cannot be based on nothing but old people. If in a particular decade it happens that a third of the population is composed of people of over 60 years of age, inflation will be frightful. Young people need to know that abortions, even under the most specialized control, can lead to sterility. Knowledge about the family must be expanded, more discussion of the family must take place in school.

A Woman Should Be With the Children Longer

[Question] We know that at certain times there were great campaigns to increase birth rates in France and in Hungary. Might something similar be needed here?

[M. Rasevic] I have already said that it is necessary. A reduction in the rate of population growth is in itself bad. The population is significant for the country's development.

[M Macura] The question arises as to what we can expect in the future when we speak of fertility as the number of live births per thousand women. We should not expect and increase in married women, but rather a decline, and it is most likely that it will bring with it a further overall decline in the number of normally born children.

What is the average Yugoslav family and what should it be?

[N. Petric] Everyone, every couple whether married or not, decides how many children it will have, when and whether it will have any at all. That personal freedom has a social aspect. That same citizen makes decisions in the housing interest community, in the child protection community, and in the social care community, and thus

he or she creates the conditions to realize his or her rights. We call that socially active parenthood. Today the realization of that human right cannot be implemented through a closed family.

[Question] Social needs have been mentioned. In that connection, can you speak of the number of members of the family?

[D. Petric] From the viewpoint of realizing human rights, there is absolutely no dilemma there. But when a demographer speaks of renewing the labor f[illegible] and the like, he does so because of social needs. As you can see, the individual and society are not always in harmony.

[Question] And what is the situation regarding termination of pregnancies?

[D. Mladenovic] In Belgrade, there are some 50,000 abortions annually and about 20,000 births. That means there are two and one-half times as many abortions. We regulate our family planning with abortions, which is anti-medical and detrimental to the woman's health. We must pay more attention to it and try to expand the use of contraceptives. The question arises as to the degree society is interested in the birth rate. On the other hand, that can never be resolved by force.

When we speak of women's rights, we must recall that we still have not provided the necessary conditions for birth. Many people live in cities and it is difficult to have children if both spouses work. It is even more difficult when children are born out of wedlock, when a woman bears and raises a child without any obligation on the part of the man. Without the essential conditions, it is difficult to raise a child.

Therefore, if the society wants to enable young people to enter into marriage, it should provide them with a certain amount of help to be able to plan their family. What use is it to have laws that state that everyone can plan the number of children desired, when a man and wife, each of whom works 8 hours, have no one to whom to entrust the children. Maternity leave until recently was quite short. Now it is somewhat longer. A child needs a great deal of care.

The society must accept a portion of the burden. I would give maternity leave of up to one year, and every woman with a child under 7 years of age should have the right to work half-time. Her income would be less by half, but she would be able to choose whether to accept that or work full time. If there is no one with whom to leave the child, it would be more valuable to her to raise the child herself. In the same way, young married couples should have priority in getting apartments.

Abortions Are Not To Blame

[Dr Ljubica Basta] It is usually believed that free abortions are one of the factors affecting the decline in the Yugoslav birth rate. The results of events in Romania are, however, instructive. Overnight the possibility of terminating pregnancy was removed, a severe administrative measure. In a short period population growth was increased, but lately the results have not been good. The birth rate began to decline, and other methods were adopted. If a woman decides to end a pregnancy,

she will find a way to do so. How? She will either go to an illegal practitioner or do it herself. The rate of sterility among such women is ten times higher than when a physician performs the abortion.

The White Plague

[Dr Petar Vlahovic] An increasing phenomenon is what we call the "white plague." That is a family with one child, and in Yugoslavia it is especially common in northeastern Serbia. The cause of the "white plague" is the traditional concept that the estate should not be divided. Anthropological research has established a great imbalance in population distribution. Thus the circle of marital ties, which is very crucial for population growth decreases even more. This phenomenon, scientifically known as endogamy, is quite common in Yugoslavia. Marriages usually occur in certain circles in village regions, largely within a ten-kilometer range and often among relatives. We should turn our attention to halting migration from Yugoslavia to other European and non-European countries. The people who are leaving are of the most marriageable ages, and many of them will not return, they will be assimilated. We already feel the lack of the middle generation in many areas of life.

A Decision on Birth

[Question] Will something be changed soon regarding apartment priorities?

[M. Macura] Economists share the attitude that the number of children in a marriage depends on economic factors. The partners' decision to have children is effected by the expenses connected to having children and raising them, and by the desire to have children. It has become common to include in such research, in addition to economic factors, such non-economic factors as the effectiveness of birth control, marital stability and the like. One study, conducted over several years by the Economic Institute in Belgrade, indicated that decisions on childbirth are made to a significant degree in accordance with the material situation of the family.

Expenses connected with children vary. Those related to birth last as long as a year, they are not high and are chiefly transferred to the society. Expenses connected to childcare burden the family for from 5 to 10 years. nd they are significant, while those connected with raising and educating the child last for from 2 to 2-1/2 decades, and even longer. Because of low fertility, we should seriously think about transferring the expenses from the family to the society.

[D. Breznik] I believe, and Professor Mladenovic and Drs Macura and Rasevic have also said, that it is difficult to increase a low birth rate. Medicine can make quite a contribution to helping here. Many childless couples, and they constitute a not insignificant number, should be treated for sterility. Another question relates to the young. When they enter into marriage, the question of children should be answered quickly, and not postponed. Every postponement is bad. Studies have shown that with age, the number of childless marriages increases. A great deal also needs to be done to reduce the high rate of infant mortality in certain regions.

[M. Rasevic] In a famous letter to Kautsky in 1841, Engels said that people would learn how to plan the production of people, as a production of living wealth for their existence. If a man can influence all realms of life, why should he not be able to do so in such an important domain? Demographic measures are upplements to those taken in the economy. In the same way, man himself has a significant role in increasing or decreasing the birth rate.

[D. Mladenovic] We can count on our fingers the number of women who have come in here to have their third child. We looked upon a Slovenian intellectual, who gave birth to her fourth child here in Belgrade with us, as a wonder. We could not believe it. When she called me, I thought she wanted to have an abortion. She answered that she wanted to have the child.

I am afraid that if the population continues to decline, we will reach a situation where we will not have a sufficient labor force. There will be many old people. The social pyramid instead of resembling a pyramid with young people forming the broad base, will look more like a rectangle and that is not good.

A Debt to Prejudices

[Nevenka Petric] Most of us remember that as long ago as 1950, there was a sharp debate in the Federal Assembly concerning abortion with arguments pro and con. At that time there was no talk about higher or lower birth rates. That question was not even posed. Much time had to pass for this struggle over human rights to be converted into law. The first such law was passed in 1950, but the great turning point was in 1969, when the Assembly passed a special resolution concerning so-called "desired parenthood." Women no longer had to give reasons for having an abortion. That was a debt to prejudices and conservative positions.

[Question] How do you regard the birth rate and employment?

[P. Petrovski] Presently there is a large number of unemployed in the country--760,000--with fully 800,000 employed abroad.

The great migration from village to town is continuing. We have left a significant part of our wealth there, where one could produce enough for his own needs and the market, and exist. I will not enter into the question as to why and how everyone comes to the city, but the data show that in just the few years between 1975 and 1980 the rural population fell from 38 percent to 28 percent of total population.

That is a major change. In the past 5 years, we have had to employ about 200,000 new workers yearly. When we take the total number employed into account, that is a large number, among the highest in the world. Even in the past few years, when the Yugoslav GNP has increased more slowly, we have continued to employ quite a few people.

Yet the economy cannot employ people in a limitless manner. We should also change our relationship toward agriculture and trades. Although we look upon small business in the same way as on associated labor, many believe that the former is directed against the social sector and they intervene with various resolutions in this or that assembly, followed by tax policy or limits on work permits.

The unemployment lists are largely filled with the young. Although the Law on College-Level Training includes penalties, many labor organizations do not abide by it.

Half of the unemployed at home and abroad are women. In job competitions, despite political resolutions and agreements, it is frequently written that men have

preference. We say that women have equality in rights and responsibilities, but when two candidates apply, the man is hired.

[P. Vlahovic] That is yet another cause of the low birth rate.

## Ideal and Desired

In the questionnaire of the Center for Demographic Research in 1970, married women answered questions about the ideal and desired number of children in a family. For the young the ideal number averaged 2, while the desired number was slightly less at 1.75. A somewhat smaller difference was found in the average response of older women.

## The Example of Slovenia

[Question] How can the standard of living be directed to increase population growth?

[P. Petrovski] We have invested very little in the living standard that is essential for normal social development. Although apartment construction is increasing, it has essentially stagnated as compared to needs. We need more childcare centers than it is possible to build. In the coming period we will certainly need to be concerned about that.

[Lj Basta] The effects of the standard of living on increasing the birth rate is unusual. Slovenia provides an example. There the birth rate declined, but grew again along with a rising standard of living and very good apartment construction. A similar situation has occurred in Czechoslovakia.

An important factor in the rising birth rate in Czechoslovakia has been that having an apartment never stopped young married couples there [from having children]. As we have been informed, the same situation exists in Slovenia. Also, large investments are being made in childcare centers.

The rule is that countries with low standards of living have high birth rates. With the development of industry and gradual improvement in the living standards, the birth rate declines. When, however, a certain level of affluence is attained, population growth begins anew. Since I am a doctor, I can say that we really have done a great deal to help a woman achieve her desired motherhood, or not to, if she does not want it.

## The Third Child

[Dr Miroslav Rasevic] Children no longer have the prominent position they had in traditional culture. That results from education, personal freedom, sexual equality and independence in making decisions. Under those circumstances, parents are satisfied with one or two children, which is not sufficient to assure population growth. To this must be added many disruptions, shocks and some other elements borne by modern life in various environments, and which affect marriage. The number of unmarried women is also increasing. If we wish to increase the population, the stress must be on the third child. Furthermore, today as many as 12 percent of families are childless, and that percentage could increase quickly.

[M. Macura] My impression, from our work at the Economic Institute and after this conversation, is that we know little about what motivates people when they think of their descendants. It seems to me that we know more about the factors affecting increases in the number of inhabitants from a number of individual specialists who work to satisfy their curiosity, than from the result of any broader action. Yet to test all the circumstances, we should provide sufficient money and the necessary specialists. I think that now is the time for action.

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## BRIEFS

COMPLAINTS TO THE PARTY--At a meeting of the commission for complaints and petitions of the LCY Central Committee on 18 March it was said that the number of complaints and petitions by citizens, work and other organizations sent to bodies within central and regional LC committees, as well as to this commission, have increased considerably compared to last year, especially the number of citizens who anonymously complain of what is going on in the work organization, sociopolitical community and areas where they live and work. Gojko Skrbic, president of the commission, said that a look at the requests and complaints recently sent to the Central Committee and its bodies shows that they are becoming more numerous and that they relate to all spheres of sociopolitical life, especially to the achieving of stabilization. Thus, several opinions, suggestions and recommendations are given for solving current political tasks, from housing and employment, the work of administrative organs, and social welfare problems to the functioning of institutions of our political system. Demands are made for more effective countering of techno-bureaucratic occurrences and abuses of self-management, and greater responsibility is asked regarding the performance of societal functions. Delegates [of the commission] spent most of the time at today's meeting discussing the anonymous petitions and how to deal with these petitions which are increasing. In 1978 these [anonymous complaints] accounted for 7.8 percent of the total number of complaints; in 1979 they accounted for 7.4 percent and in 1980 they were 19.7 percent. This trend was seen especially in the second half of 1980; most were from Serbia, followed by Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Vojvodina. Delegates were of the opinion that republic and federal LCY organs should act more effectively against violations of self-management to which citizens are pointing anonymously or publicly, and added that it may be necessary to remove some authority from opstina LC committees and place it with basic LC organizations. The explanation for this was that opstina committees often make a judgment about many things and occurrences in a short procedure and discussions in basic LC organizations would be much more democratic. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 81 p 3]

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21 April 1981